THE TEMPLES OF THE JEWS

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PERSPECTIVE VIEW OF HEROD'S TEMPLE AS RESTORED.

THE

TEMPLES OF THE JEWS

AND THE

OTHER BUILDINGS IN THE HARAM AREA

AT

JERUSALEM.

BY

JAMES FERGUSSON, ESQ., D.C.L., F.R.S., V.P.R.A.S.

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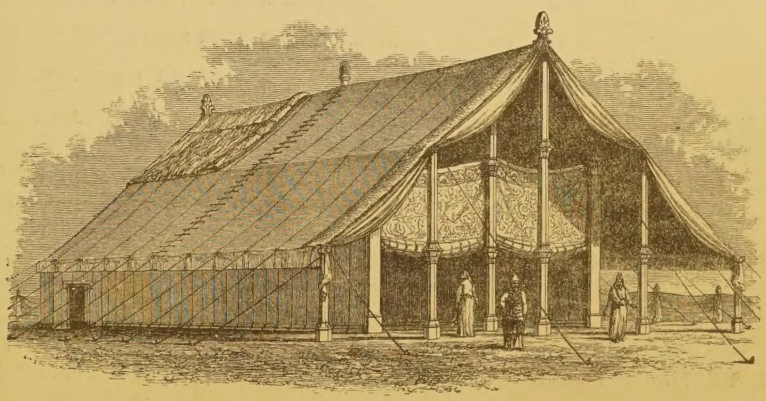

THE TABERNACLE OF MOSES.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1878.

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WORKS BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

AN ESSAY ON THE ANCIENT TOPOGRAPHY OF JERUSALEM; with Restored Plans of the Temple, and with Plans, Sections, and Details of the Church built by Constantine the Great over the Holy Sepulchre, now known as the Mosque of Omar. 16*s.* Weale, 1847.

THE HOLY SEPULCHRE AND THE TEMPLE AT JERUSALEM. Being the Substance of Two Lectures delivered in the Royal Institution, Albemarle Street, on the 21st February, 1862, and 3rd March, 1865. Woodcuts. 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.* London, Murray, 1865.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE ROCK-CUT TEMPLES OF INDIA. 18 Plates in Tinted Lithography, folio; with an 8vo. volume of Texts, Plans, &c. 2*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* London, Weale, 1845.

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AN HISTORICAL INQUIRY INTO THE TRUE PRINCIPLES OF BEAUTY IN ART, more especially with reference to Architecture. Royal 8vo. 31*s.* 6*d.* London, Longmans, 1849.

THE PALACES OF NINEVEH AND PERSEPOLIS RESTORED: An Essay on Ancient Assyrian and Persian Architecture. 8vo. 16*s.* London, Murray, 1851.

THE ILLUSTRATED HANDBOOK OF ARCHITECTURE. Being a Concise and Popular Account of the Different Styles prevailing in all Ages and all Countries. With 850 Illustrations. 8vo. 26*s.* London, Murray, 1859.

HISTORY OF ARCHITECTURE IN ALL COUNTRIES FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY. In Four Volumes, 8vo, viz.:—

HISTORY OF ANCIENT AND MEDIÆVAL ARCHITECTURE. Two Vols. 63*s.* Second Edition. London, Murray, 1874.

HISTORY OF INDIAN AND EASTERN ARCHITECTURE. One Vol. New Edition. 42*s.* 1876.

HISTORY OF THE MODERN STYLES OF ARCHITECTURE. One Vol. 31*s.* 6*d.* 1874.

RUDE-STONE MONUMENTS IN ALL COUNTRIES, THEIR AGE AND USES. With 234 Illustrations. 8vo. London, Murray, 1872.

TREE AND SERPENT WORSHIP, OR ILLUSTRATIONS OF MYTHOLOGY AND ART IN INDIA, in the 1st and 4th Centuries after Christ. 100 Plates and 31 Woodcuts. 4to. London, India Office; and W. H. Allen & Co. 2nd Edition, 1873.

THE MAUSOLEUM AT HALICARNASSUS RESTORED, IN CONFORMITY WITH THE REMAINS RECENTLY DISCOVERED. Plates. 4to. 7*s.* 6*d.* London, Murray, 1862.

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THE PERIL OF PORTSMOUTH. FRENCH FLEETS AND ENGLISH FORTS. Plan. 8vo. 3*s.* London, Murray, 1853.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE BRITISH MUSEUM, NATIONAL GALLERY, and NATIONAL RECORD OFFICE; with Suggestions for their Improvement. 8vo. London, Weale, 1859.

LONDON: PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, STAMFORD STREET AND CHARING CROSS.

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PREFACE.

More than thirty years have now elapsed since I obtained access to the plans and drawings made in 1833 by Messrs. Catherwood and Arundale, in the Haram area at Jerusalem. The circumstances under which I first saw these drawings, and afterwards became possessed of them, need not be repeated here, as they have already been narrated at length in the preface to my work on the 'Ancient Topography of Jerusalem,'[1] which was the result of their acquisition, and afterwards, more briefly, in a little work on 'The Holy Sepulchre and the Temple at Jerusalem,' published in 1865.

Even at that time, it required only a very cursory inspection of these drawings to enable me to see at once that the so-called Mosque of Omar had not been built by that Khalif, nor indeed by any Saracenic architect, but was undoubtedly a building of the age of Constantine; and the conclusion seemed inevitable that, with the Golden Gateway, it formed a part of the group of buildings erected by that Emperor, in the early part of the fourth century, around the cave which he believed to have contained the Sepulchre of Christ. Since that time I have had repeated occasions to go carefully over the architectural history of that age, and have heard numerous criticisms on the views I then expressed, but nothing that has, in the smallest degree, shaken my confidence in the conclusions I then arrived at, or in the perfect trustworthiness of the data from which these results were obtained.

At the time of making this discovery and announcing it to the world, I had not the most remote idea that I was doing anything which required special knowledge, or for which I deserved any particular credit. I saw, at a glance, of what paramount importance to the Christian topography of Jerusalem it was, that the real site of Constantine's buildings should be discovered, and felt perhaps more than most people the interest this knowledge possessed for the general history of architecture. Beyond this, however, I could only consider myself as fortunate in accidentally finding a treasure that had long been hidden, and in being the first

[1] An Essay on the Ancient Topography of Jerusalem; with restored Plans of the Temple, and with Plans, Sections, and Details of the Church built by Constantine the Great over the Holy Sepulchre, now known as the Mosque of Omar. Royal 8vo. John Weale, High Holborn, 1847.

to publish it to the world. My idea then was, that it would have been known ages ago, had it not been for the jealous exclusion of Christians from the Haram area since the time of the Crusades, and because no intelligent foreigner had seen the interior of the Dome of the Rock since the Middle Ages. Now, however, that the veil had been drawn aside, and its form and details revealed to the world, I felt convinced that nine educated men out of ten would see at once what I had seen, and my only anxiety was, that no one should have access to the drawings in the engraver's hands, or hear the fact announced, before I had the somewhat selfish gratification of publishing it to the world.

The result, it need hardly be added, differed most widely from these anticipations. No one saw the facts in the same light in which I saw them, and the conclusions which I had drawn from them were consequently looked upon as idle dreams, and their author treated with very scant courtesy. I felt myself, in fact, in the position of a man who had accidentally acquired a knowledge of a dead language of which the rest of his countrymen were ignorant, and who, being asked to interpret an important inscription written in that tongue, had given a translation which was unexpected by all, and singularly distasteful to a few, who unfortunately were deeply interested in discrediting both the interpretation and its author.

I was of course well aware that, since the revival of Gothic art became a mania, the study of classical art and architecture had been sadly neglected in this country; but I was not prepared for such complete ignorance as I found prevailing on the subject. Even if its details were unknown, I expected that the principles of architectural criticism had been so well established by the study of the mediæval styles that all would admit and understand their application to all other phases of art. In this country, since the publication of Rickman's 'Attempt to discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England,' published in 1817, the progress of the science has been so rapid that now any well educated school-girl, on entering one of our cathedrals, at once points to the round arches of the nave as fixing its date within the first century after the Conquest. She discriminates between the early lancet style and the geometric or decorative tracery of the Edwards, and makes no mistake in distinguishing between the early perpendicular and the Tudor styles that succeeded these. All this is so well known and so certainly fixed that, were all the books and records of the three kingdoms destroyed, there are hundreds, probably thousands, in this country who could by simple inspection fix the age of any part of any of our great churches within twenty or at the outside within fifty years with absolute certainty, and no one would dispute the conclusions so arrived at.

It was not so, however, in the last century, when the greater number of our great county histories were compiled. Then the industrious compiler, when he found in the chronicle of some lying monk, that the enemies of God had harried the convent, and burnt and destroyed the church—"usque ad solum diruta"—

noted it down as a fact, and equally believed that it had been rebuilt in the next few years by some abbot or prior without money or means of any sort. It never occurred to him to go to the church itself, and see whether the walls and vaults of the pious Norman founder might not yet be standing, and if he had gone, it is very probable he would not have been much the wiser. The existence of the certain gradation of styles was not then suspected, and is in fact the great discovery of this century in that class of literature. Now, however, any man who would state that Henry VII.'s Chapel was built by Edward the Confessor, though a considerable amount of documentary evidence could be brought forward to prove it, would be simply laughed at. Or if any one would assert that the chapel in the White Tower of the Tower of London and Henry VII.'s Chapel were built by the same king—they are not dissimilar in plan—would not be laughed at, simply because the idea would be thought to be too absurd and stupid. This all will probably admit; but the disappointing part of the matter is, that, while acknowledging the conquests of this science as regards English art, even the best-educated men fail to perceive its application to all other true styles.

The causes are, however, sufficiently obvious which prevent this mode of reasoning from being generally appreciated in this country. Any one who looks around him cannot fail to see buildings in the Grecian, Roman, and Italian styles rising simultaneously, mixed up with others in all the one hundred and one varieties of Mediæval Architecture, and, unless he has seen and thought much on the subject, will have no reason for doubting that what happens everywhere at the present day may always have been the normal state of matters. He consequently brushes aside all reasoning based on data which he considers contradicted by his own daily experience, and smiles incredulously at the simplicity of those who, he thinks, rely on something they consider more important than the testimony of their own eyes! Few, consequently, realise the fact that these imitative—or, as I used to call them, monkey—styles are wholly the invention of the centuries that have elapsed since the Reformation in Europe, and that absolutely no trace of them is found before that event in the West, nor to the present day in the East, wherever the example of Europe has not obliterated the true styles of the land. In all other countries and ages, the progressive evolution of forms in works of art is as certain as in the works of nature, and may be reasoned upon in the same manner and with the same certainty. So far as I know, there is absolutely no exception to this rule, and when once the distinction between the old and new systems is fairly grasped, a new domain is added to the realms of science of the utmost value to our knowledge of the past, and of especial importance towards obtaining a solution of problems such as those treated of in this volume.

From all this it follows, as an inevitable corollary, that wherever sufficient remains exist of the original architecture of any building to enable its affinities with others of the same class to be ascertained with accuracy, its age can always

be determined with more ease and certainty from this than from any other class of evidence, either written or traditional, that can be applied to any such investigations. So, at least, I have found it in every part of the world where I have been, or regarding which I have any accurate knowledge; and so I believe all will find who will follow up the study of architectural art, not only in its technical forms but through all the various historical and more scientific phases which form its real value for our present purpose.

So far, however, are these principles from being considered as applicable to buildings in Palestine that no one hesitates in asserting, and others from believing, that the Dome of the Rock and the mosque El Aksa are buildings of the same age, and erected by the same Khalif, though in reality the difference of age and style is about the same as that between the chapel in the White Tower and the Westminster tomb. They look steadily at the two woodcuts Nos. 55 and 56, and see no difference in styles; nor do they detect any improbability in the two capitals, Nos. 78 and 79, being made at the same time and for the same building. They see nothing that is classical in the Dome of the Rock, and though they do not quite say so, they see nothing improbable in the assumption, that it was built by the Moslems in the seventh century, nor as a necessary consequence that the Golden Gateway must also be a Saracenic building of the same age. If Englishmen at the present day were as familiar with the architecture of the Byzantine empire during the four centuries that elapsed between the time of Constantine and that of Abd-el-Malek as they are with that of the four centuries that counted between the Conquest and the Reformation, the questions regarding the relative age of these two buildings would have been answered as soon as asked, and whether in the negative or affirmative, the decision would never have been questioned. Any doubts that still hang over the controversy are wholly owing to the fact that those with whom the decision rests fail to appreciate the evidence on which it must be based.

In like manner the historians of the holy places have benefited as little by our recently acquired scientific processes as the archæologists. They look into their written histories, and find that the Persian king Chosroes not only plundered, but burnt and destroyed—levelled with the ground—the churches of Constantine and Justinian, and that a monk, Modestus, without money or means, in a time of the deepest depression of the Church of Jerusalem, rebuilt and restored to their original splendour, in a very short time, what it had taken all the power and all the wealth of these great Emperors to accomplish during many years of continuous prosperity. It never seems to occur to any of them that before giving credence to this apocryphal tale, resting only on the slightest evidence, it is first necessary to ascertain whether the architecture of any of the buildings so said to have been destroyed is of an age anterior to the Persian conquest. If this indispensable examination were really made, it would be found that the Dome of the Rock still retains much of the architecture of the age of

Constantine still perfect and unaltered. There are mosaics there, some of which, at least, are parts of the original decoration of a building of that age, which would certainly have peeled off if ever exposed to fire. Numerous columns will be found there of precious marbles which would have calcined to dust in the heat of a conflagration, but which retain their original polish. What may have happened to the Basilica of Constantine, we cannot tell, for a worse tyrant than Chosroes, four centuries afterwards, did utterly destroy that noble building, and the church of Justinian has also perished; but we can confidently assert that he left no trace of his violence on the structure of the Dome of the Rock, or on the Golden Gateway, which remain to the present day, very nearly as Constantine left them. In any other place than Jerusalem this would be considered final, and, so far as I am capable of forming an opinion, is so, notwithstanding all that has been urged against it during the last thirty years.

Had the Haram been situated in England, or in any part of Western Europe, the age of its buildings would have been ascertained long ago, by the same processes, and with the same certainty, as those of any mediæval building that exists, and no one would have disputed the determination so arrived at. If indeed there had been even a dozen persons in this country who were sufficiently familiar with the Romano-Byzantine style, to be capable of formulating an opinion regarding it, and had leisure to look at the evidence, this controversy never could have arisen. Either they would have agreed in the correctness of my views, and the general public would have followed their lead, or, if they had decided against them, and given their reasons for so doing, which they could easily have done, the matter would have been settled long ago, and I would have been too happy to withdraw from a controversy in which, even if right, neither fame nor profit is to be obtained.

During the many years that have elapsed since the publication of my work, I have known only one person in this country—the late Professor Willis, of Cambridge—who was qualified both by his knowledge of architecture and of the authorities to give a decided opinion on the subject. He, however, had committed himself publicly to the authenticity of the Sepulchre in the town, before my theory was published, and it would be demanding a little too much from human nature to ask any one in his position to confess the error of his ways and to admit the success of a rival. The late Mr. Lewin was another formidable opponent. He, however, knew nothing of architecture, and was familiar only with the classical branch of the literature of the subject; so that it is hardly to be wondered at that he missed the point of the argument. On the other hand, Count de Vogüé knows both the art and the literature of the subject; and if it be not that his opinions are biassed by sincere devotion to his infallible church, his reasoning on the subject is to me a mystery I cannot pretend to fathom.[1] Besides

[1] See Appendix V.

these three, I could name some four or five persons whose knowledge of art is sufficient to enable them to judge if they would take the trouble of looking into the special evidence bearing on the question. They have not, however, so far as I know, done so, and, wisely perhaps, decline to mix themselves up with a controversy where matters of faith are allowed at times to supersede the processes of pure reason. In so far as my own personal experience goes, I have met no one during these thirty years able or willing to discuss the matter, while if there is any one in this country, who has taken the trouble to master the subject, in all its bearings, I can only express my regret that I am not acquainted with his name. Such controversies as have taken place in periodicals have generally hinged on some collateral points. No one, so far as I know, has, in print at least grasped the really vital points at issue and tried to argue either for or against them. If the Dome of the Rock and the Golden Gateway were not built by Constantine, they were built by some one else, and if it can be shown who that person was, and at what age, it is no use going further; no ingenuity, nor any special pleading, can get over that fact. It is a mere waste of time to attempt to carry the argument further. If, on the contrary, it is determined that Constantine did erect these two buildings, it is of the least possible consequence what Eusebius, or the Bordeaux Pilgrim, or any one, wrote or said about the matter. If anything in their works seems to contradict this ascertained fact, all that need be said is, that the author was ignorant, or the passage corrupt, or that he had been misunderstood or mistranslated. So confident did I feel that this was the case that, when I wrote my first work on the 'Ancient Topography of Jerusalem,' I was perhaps too careless in meeting objections by anticipation. I knew that, if I were correct in my architectural determinations, all difficulties in accepting Constantine as the builder of the Dome of the Rock must disappear as a matter of course when fairly grappled with. It was a mere question of time, and so it has turned out. Professor Willis' fatal objection, so fiercely endorsed by Dr. Robinson, to the effect that it was impossible the Golden Gateway could be centred on a broad agora, has been proved by Captain Warren's discoveries to be a delusion. Mr. Lewin's fatal objection, that the Basilica was due east of the Sepulchre, turns out to be a mistranslation, and the Count de Vogüé's famous inscription, which proved that the Dome of the Rock was erected by Abd-el-Malek, is now shown to be a forgery. As I expected, one by one, all these objections have disappeared; and if there is any difficulty remaining unanswered, it must be very insignificant, for it has escaped my attention, and, when brought forward, will, I have no doubt, be as easily answered as the others. If the architectural determination is right, it cannot long survive.

Even without the architecture, I believe that, if any one would carefully go through the whole of the written evidence, he could almost settle the controversy from that alone; I do not, however, know any man in this country who has attempted this, except Mr. Alèxander M'Grigor, of Glasgow. He has

not only examined the whole, but has printed references to all the passages bearing on the subject in an alphabetical form, in a quarto volume of ninety closely printed pages, at present only for private circulation. If it were published together with the work for which it was intended, this compilation should serve as a substructure; few, I believe, could resist arriving at the same conclusion as the author, who, I believe, without any special knowledge of the architecture, is quite convinced that the Dome of the Rock was erected by Constantine the Great.

Just before my attention was first turned to the topography of Jerusalem, the celebrated Dr. Robinson of New York had, in the second volume of his 'Biblical Researches,' carefully summed up the evidence regarding the authenticity of the present Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and after a most exhaustive enquiry decided that it could not be on or near the spot where the scenes of the Passion were enacted. In stating this, he was only following up conclusions that Korte had arrived at in the early part of the last century, and what, in fact, all travellers who trust to reason, and reason only, must agree to, for it has been found impossible to reconcile the position in the middle of the town with the narratives of events as recorded by the Evangelists. Those who oppose this view rely on tradition, and on that only. They assume, in the first place, that Constantine must have known where the place of Crucifixion really was, which he probably did, and to that no one will object; but their second assumption, that the church in the town must be the true one, because it is the one which he built, rests on a totally different basis; they plead, however, that, at all events, it is a tradition with a respectable antiquity of fifteen centuries, and is, in consequence, worth more than the negative void left by the logic of the American doctor. Under these circumstances, I believed that he, at least, and all those who doubted the authenticity of the present church, must hail with enthusiasm the news that an alternative had been found, which, at all events, had the merit of reconciling the narratives of the Bible with the localities of Jerusalem in their minutest peculiarities. As in everything else connected with the reception of my publication, I found myself entirely mistaken. Dr. Robinson was the first to turn upon me, and so far was the Protestant feeling of my countrymen, especially north of the Tweed, from sympathising with my vindication of the Bible, that they remained silent in the midst of the clamour raised by the High Church party in defence of the traditions invalidated by these new discoveries.

Under these circumstances, I would willingly have waited till the completion of Captain Warren's great discovery of the rock-cut foundations of the Basilica, or till some other tangible proof of the correctness or falsity of my views had been brought forward in a manner that admitted of no dispute. In what I am about to say in the following pages, I cannot but feel that I am appealing to those who fail to understand the language in which they are addressed; and I

have, therefore, very little hope of carrying conviction to their minds; and if I were younger, and could afford to wait, I would do so, but at my time of life, if anything is to be said, it were well it were done quickly, or it may be that there may be no opportunity of saying it at all.

Feeling all this strongly, I have desired to put on record the fact that, so far as I am capable of judging, every difficulty that met the reception of my views when I first wrote on the subject has been cleared away by the new facts acquired by subsequent researches, in the manner explained in the following pages. The one point on which no new light has been thrown is that of the transference of the Sepulchre from the eastern to the western hill, though this, in fact, never was a difficulty that deserved a moment's notice if the main facts of the argument were correct. It was, moreover, a point regarding which I scarcely expected any new discoveries to be made. It is hardly likely that any of those who were concerned in it would have left a record of a transaction which, according to the feelings of that age, was perfectly legitimate if successful, but which would have thrown doubt and dismay into the bosoms of all the faithful of Christendom if found out. It may be, however, that a more careful examination of the diplomatic correspondence between the East and West, from the time of Charlemagne to that of the Crusades, may reveal what is now mysterious; but this can only be done by those who have access to documents not yet printed or in the hands of the public.

Be this as it may, for the present it must suffice to know that there is not a shadow of architectural evidence in favour of the Sepulchre in the city being built by Constantine, to set against the overwhelming mass of proofs that the Dome of the Rock and the Golden Gateway were built by that Emperor. At the same time, it may safely be asserted that there is not one word in any work that may not be applied to a Sepulchre on the eastern hill as correctly as to one on the western hill, and a great many, I believe, that can only apply to the former.

I myself have very little hope of any great success being attained in elucidating the history of this transaction; but, at the same time, it appears of the least possible consequence whether it is obtained or not. If Constantine built the Dome of the Rock, the fact of the transference is certain, and the motive is only too clear. It was done because it had become absolutely necessary from the position of the Christians in Jerusalem in the eleventh century. They were forcibly dispossessed of their own church on the eastern hill, and they of necessity erected one on the only available site on the western hill, and there, in consequence, we now find it. It may be unfortunate that this should be so, but I can see no reason why the fact should not be acknowledged if it can be proved.

When, from the subjects bearing more or less directly on the authenticity of the Holy Sepulchre of the Christians, we turn to the Temple of the Jews, we find ourselves standing on safer and surer ground. No dogma or matters of faith are

mixed up with questions connected with the situation or dimensions of the Temple, and, however divergent opinions may be on the subject, all reasoning is based either on an examination of authorities or on local indications, viewed by the light of the ordinary and accepted principles generally employed in such investigations. Where this is the case, truth is sure to be arrived at when sufficient industry has been applied, to make it certain that all the circumstances bearing on the subject have been sufficiently examined.

When I wrote my 'Ancient Topography of Jerusalem,' I did not consider it necessary for the design of that work to examine the internal arrangements of the Temple with any great care. It was sufficient for all topographical purposes to know, first, that the Temple was, practically, a square measuring 600 feet on each side; secondly, that there was sufficient space for a building of these dimensions in the south-west angle of the Haram area; and, thirdly, that there was ample room and to spare within the precincts of a Temple so circumscribed for all the buildings described by Josephus and by the Rabbis. Being satisfied on these three points, I plotted the Temple roughly on my plans to a very small scale, and there left it for future elaboration. When, however, the Ordnance Survey, made under the direction of Major Wilson, was published, I found myself in a position to carry the process a step further, and, after spoiling a good many copies of the sheets containing the plan of the Haram area, have at last satisfied myself that very little more remains to be done in so far as the plan is concerned. There are one or two minor details on which a little more study might be profitably employed, but they are comparatively of so little importance that they may very well be left for future consideration.

On turning, however, from the plan to the elevation, the case is somewhat different. The result is very unlike what I expected when I first took the investigation in hand, and, to others, will no doubt appear even more strange and improbable than it did to me when it gradually developed itself as I became more familiar with the subject. I am consequently quite prepared to hear it called "absurd," "improbable," "impossible," and characterised by even stronger terms than these. Adjectives, however, are of little importance in a controversy of this sort. The only criticism I can accept will be when some one goes through the whole evidence as carefully as I have done, and produces an elevation more justified by the authorities, and more in accordance with the style of architecture prevalent in Syria at the time when it was erected. When this is done, I will most gladly withdraw my illustrations, and hail with delight a better solution of the problem than I have been able to afford.

When I first undertook this renewed study of the form of the Temple, I was anxious to obtain the assistance of some scholar who, by his knowledge of Hebrew, might enable me to understand the architectural terms employed in the Bible and the Talmud, and whose familiarity with Jewish literature might have

added interest to my dry descriptions. In this I have not been successful, and, after all, it would have been hardly fair to have asked anyone to bestow the requisite time and labour on the work of another from which he could only at best get a dim reflection of credit. As the investigation proceeded, I found less and less cause to regret this disappointment. The points which my ignorance of Hebrew forced me to pass over were much fewer than I anticipated, and I felt it was much better I should put them aside than to attempt to explain at second hand what I could not master myself. The work, too, is quite extensive enough as it stands, and I now feel that it is far better that it should be considered only as an Architect's contribution to the elucidation of the subject, and that it should be left to scholars at their leisure to rectify any errors my want of knowledge of the language may have led me into, and that they should clothe in any form of flesh they think best, the skeleton I have attempted to prepare for them. The points regarding which a competent knowledge of Hebrew would have enabled me to give a clearer or better definition are, I feel convinced, few and insignificant when compared with those which are discussed in this work, and decided on totally different grounds, and it is consequently with little regret that I leave them to those who may come after me in this investigation.

The principal reason why this work has been confined exclusively to the description of the buildings in the Haram area is that recent explorations have thrown no new light on the position of the walls, or on the topography of the city itself. What I had to say on that subject has already been said in my previous publications, and I see no reason for altering the conclusions there arrived at, to such an extent at least as to make it worth while reopening the controversy. The one discovery, if it can be so-called, bearing on this subject, is the fixation of the true site of Scopus by Lieutenant Conder on the northern road leading from Jerusalem, at a distance of almost exactly 7 stadia from the "Tombs of the Kings,"[1] proving, consequently, that I was quite correct in following Josephus' indication, and placing the third wall in immediate juxtaposition to these sepulchres. If, indeed, Josephus is to be followed—and there is no other authority—this position of this wall is certain, and never would have been questioned but for the fatal confusion which the location of the Holy Sepulchre in the middle of the town, by the Crusaders, has introduced into the topography of Jerusalem.

With regard to the second wall, I am happy to be able to avail myself of this opportunity to correct a blunder I had made when previously writing on the subject. In his description of the walls, Josephus states there were ninety towers on the third wall, while its length, measured on the ground, is 4300 to 4400 yards, and consequently the towers were something less than 50 yards apart from centre to centre. The old wall measured 3400 yards and had sixty towers,

[1] Quarterly Reports, Palestine Exploration Fund, for 1874, p. 112.

which, consequently, were 56 or 57 yards apart. But the second wall, whilst scarcely exceeding 1000 yards, had, as I read it—trusting too carelessly, I fear, to Whiston's translation—forty towers, or with the impossible distance of only 25 yards apart.[1] It was one of the many difficulties that are sure to arise in an investigation of this sort, which I thought might well be left to future investigations, or to clearer heads, for a satisfactory solution; and as it was not very important, there I left it. It never occurred to me that so obvious a blunder could have been made so long ago, and the work passed through so many editions without being detected. But the fact was, when the original Greek was consulted, the number was found to be *fourteen*, instead of *forty*, and the consequent fifteen spaces gave the very probable spacing of a little more than 60 yards from the centre of one tower to that of the next.

Looked at from a controversial point of view, I do not now regret the mistake, inasmuch as it shows that, though this fact looked fatal to my views, still, Josephus' description was so clear, and the nature of the ground so marked, that it was possible, in spite of the supposed assertion of Josephus, to fix the position and ascertain the length of the second wall with almost perfect certainty. Personally, I rather rejoice in it, as it is charming to find that there was at least one instance regarding which I cannot be accused of knowingly and purposely perverting the evidence to suit my own preconceived theories.

The truth of the matter is there is no city in the ancient world where the features of the ground on which it stood are so strongly and clearly marked out by nature, none the topography of which has been so well and so clearly described as that of Jerusalem has been by Josephus, or one where the historian's descriptions can be so easily checked and authenticated by the circumstantial details of an important siege. Under these circumstances, the topography of the city would have been easily ascertained, and never would have been disputed, had not the transference of the Holy Sepulchre from the eastern to the western hill necessitated a reconstruction of the whole topography, in order to accommodate it, as far as possible, to the new state of things then introduced. The circumstances under which this was done rendered it inevitable, and in the dark ages it was, to say the least of it, most inexpedient, if not impossible, from a priestly point of view, that they should be made public; but, in the nineteenth century, these motives ought no longer to exist, and every one would be benefited by the truth being made known. As the case stands at present, the public have two systems before them; one of which, assuming the Sepulchre to have been on the eastern hill, accords, in so far as I am capable of forming an opinion, with every word of the Bible narrative without straining or difficulty, renders all the descriptions of Josephus clear and intelligible, and agrees with every local indication so far as they can be at present seen. The other, assuming the Sepulchre to have been

[1] Bell. Jud. v. 4, 3.

situated in the centre of the city, can only, it appears to me, be reconciled with the Bible narrative, avowedly, by the total rejection of the descriptions of Josephus, by ignoring all the details of the siege, and by overlooking many local indications and facts connected with the population and defence of the city.

The public have hitherto emphatically declared for the latter system, while, though confident, I am far from wishing it to be understood that I fancy I must necessarily be right, in distinctly adhering to an opposite view. All I mean to assert is, that, as the evidence at present stands, and is known to me, I can draw no other conclusions than those I have done, and I believe enough has been adduced in the various works I have published on the subject to convince any impartial and properly qualified person that the Dome of the Rock was built by Constantine, with all the consequences that inevitably follow from that admission. Judging, however, from the experience gained during the long years that I have been more or less connected with these questions, I see no probability that anything now brought forward will induce people in general to qualify themselves for giving an opinion on this controversy, though that is all that is asked. Unless, therefore, some accidental discovery should throw new light on the matter, I can hardly hope that I shall live to see any change in the general opinion regarding some of the questions mooted in these pages. But be this as it may, nothing can deprive me of the memory of the many happy days I have spent on these investigations, nor, unless something very unforeseen and unexpected turns up, of the satisfaction of feeling that I may have solved several problems which have puzzled many men with whose talent or learning I cannot pretend to compete.

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PART I.

EARLY TEMPLES OF THE JEWS.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

IT is, perhaps, no exaggeration to say that there is not, in the whole world, any spot of the same limited area, in which so much interest of a religious or archæological character has been so long centred, as in the Haram area at Jerusalem. It may be that the tradition is unfounded which says that it was here that Abraham offered to sacrifice his son Isaac, but it certainly was the spot where the threshing-floor of Araunah was placed, on which David erected that altar which became the centre of the faith of his people and the symbol of their aspirations. It was within its boundaries that Solomon erected all those buildings which have made his name so celebrated to all future generations. It was too within the precincts of his famous temple, as rebuilt by Herod, that Christ taught, and where many of the principal scenes of his ministry and passion were enacted, so that it became, as it were, the cradle of Christianity as it had been of the Jewish dispensation. It was from the site of this old Temple that Mahomet is fabled to have ascended to heaven on his famous night journey, and but for the refusal of the Jews to acknowledge him as a prophet, it might have become the Kaaba of that faith, instead of the mean and comparatively modern structure at Mecca.

The consequence of all this is, that though now in the exclusive possession of the Moslems, and considered by them as only slightly less sacred than the Kaaba itself, the Jews still sorrowfully regard it as the emblem of their faith and former greatness, torn from them by cruel injustice and oppression, while Christians regard the spot with an interest only limited by their ignorance of the true history of the place.

When looked at from an architectural or archæological point of view, the Haram is almost as interesting as it is in its religious aspects. The temples of Egypt were indeed larger and more magnificent, and those of Greece more beautiful and artistic, but none obtained such world-wide celebrity, or were so essentially the emblems of the greatness or the symbols of the national faith, as that which Solomon erected on this spot; and as rebuilt by Herod, it probably rivalled most

of the temples of antiquity in magnificence. If we could restore them in all their pristine magnificence, it probably would be found that the group of buildings which Constantine erected in the Haram, to commemorate the scenes of the Passion, were at least as beautiful and as magnificent as anything of their age; and that the Mary Church, which Justinian erected in the south-east corner of the Haram area, was only second in splendour to his own great creation at Constantinople. The Aksa, too, was the greatest of all the mosques the Moslems attempted to erect—as a wholly original design—in the first century of the Hejira, and, like some of the buildings of Constantine, still retains enough of its pristine arrangements to enable us to judge fairly what its original form may have been.

The case is, unfortunately, widely different with regard to the buildings of Solomon. The prophecy regarding the Temple has long been fulfilled, literally not one stone, above ground, remains standing on another; and were it not for the loving care with which the Jews, in all ages, have dwelt on its form and glories, we should now know little or nothing about it. The Bible, however, delights to dwell, with a minuteness of detail which has no parallel in ancient history, on the forms and furniture of the original Temple, and of that erected after the Captivity. Josephus, too, repeats the Biblical descriptions, it may be with less accuracy, but with greater fulness, so as to enable us to realise its appearance, as rebuilt by Herod, where the Bible deserts us. Still later, the Rabbis, in the Talmud, gathered together all the traditional measurements with a care that leaves little to be desired in that respect, though they put them together with an ignorance of their application which has hitherto prevented their value being appreciated as it might otherwise have been.

After all, however, it was not for its architectural magnificence, as we usually understand the term, that Solomon's Temple was remarkable. It was, in fact, hardly larger than an ordinary parish church of the present day, and whether the stone work was elaborately carved or not, we have no means of knowing. What made it remarkable was the beauty of the carvings in cedar wood which lined its walls internally, the wealth of gold and silver that were spread over them, and, above all, the vessels and ornaments of bronze, fashioned by Hiram of Tyre, all which made up, in the eyes of the Jews at least, a *mobilier* of unrivalled richness and beauty. Even this, however, would hardly account for the enthusiasm and reverence with which it was regarded. Its claim to veneration by the Jewish people arose from their belief that its place and ordinance were divinely revealed by God to man, that it was the one temple of the one God, the holy Zion, where their God delighted to dwell among his chosen people, the symbol of his covenant with them, the centre of all their national faiths and aspirations. Similar feelings acting upon a people of cognate race have, among the Semitic Arabs, thrown around the Kaaba at Mecca, the meanest of modern shrines, a halo of glory, which it is difficult for Western people to understand. This peculiarity may, no doubt, have induced the Israelites

to attribute exaggerated importance and exceptional magnificence to their one holy place in a manner that will not bear the test of modern criticism. Even assuming this, however, to be the case, the Christian religion, like the Mahomedan, is based on the Jewish. Their Scriptures are our Bible, and they have imparted to us a portion at least of the enthusiasm they feel, and have always felt, for this far famed edifice. Whether rightly or wrongly, it is probable that for a long time to come both Moslem and Christian will continue to look on the Temple at Jerusalem as one of the most sacred and most interesting of all the shrines of the ancient world, though it never can be to them what it always was, and still is, to people of the Jewish race and persuasion.

With all these claims to attention, it is little to be wondered at that the Temple at Jerusalem has excited the interest and exercised the ingenuity of a countless number of antiquaries and restorers, especially when, with the revival of literature some three or four centuries ago, such enquiries became a fashionable and engrossing amusement with the best educated classes of the community. During the middle ages the Temple of Solomon was simply a richly decorated Gothic church in the style of the day. The simple faith and narrow view of archæology of those days did not admit of their dreaming of the existence of any other style except that then in use, and certainly of none to be compared with it in beauty and excellence. When, however, classical studies were revived, and men became familiar with Roman art, as well as Roman literature, more serious attempts were made to realise the appearance of this celebrated building. These, though more successful than the earlier attempts, were still very unlike what we now believe the true aspect of the Temple to have been.

One great cause of their want of success was that they all failed to discriminate between what belonged to Solomon and what to Herod. Their one great idea was that the Temple must have resembled a great Renaissance palace 1600 feet square, and in some instances, reading Josephus literally, they placed it on a basement 300 cubits high![1]

The most artistic of these restorations is that published by the Brothers Pradi or Villalpandi,[2] the least satisfactory that which Herrera built as a palace for Philip II. of Spain at the Escorial;[3] but the two are so like one another that there can be no doubt, they were meant for the same object;[4] and our only regret is that the Pradi were not employed to build the palace and the architect to write the book. But whether this was so or not, it is quite evident that neither they nor any of their contemporaries understood the conditions of the

[1] B. J. v. 5, 1.

[2] Explanationes in Ezekielem, Romæ, 1596–1604, 3 vols. fol.

[3] The dimensions of the Escorial, exclusive of the projection behind, are 675 feet by 530 feet.

[4] The absurd explanation of the plan of the Escorial usually given, that it was meant to symbolise the grid-iron on which St. Lawrence was roasted, is sufficiently refuted by an examination of contemporary pictures, representing this martyrdom. In them it is always an iron bedstead, which may have been a usual implement of torture in those days, while our ideas of a grid-iron are borrowed from cook-shops where beefsteaks and mutton chops are prepared.

problem they had undertaken to solve. Since their time most of the attempts at restoration have been soberer and more critical, but still not one plan has been published which meets with general acceptance, nor any restoration which can be considered as fairly representing the appearance of the building.

It is easy to understand why all the earlier attempts at restoration should have proved unsuccessful. It was, in the first place, that those who undertook them had no knowledge whatever of the localities, and almost as little of the styles of architecture that prevailed in the East when the Temples were built. Even now we have only the haziest idea possible of the styles of architecture prevalent in Syria in the age of Solomon, say, a thousand years before Christ; and no one yet has been able to offer a reasonable representation of the two pillars—Jachin and Boaz—that adorned the porch of his Temple. If the text were retranslated by some thoroughly competent scholar, a solution might be approximated, but even then some further discoveries of contemporary examples must be made before anything like certainty with regard to these pillars can be obtained. On the other hand, we can restore the Corinthian porticos with which Herod surrounded the Court of the Gentiles with almost absolute certainty, but the Temple itself presents difficulties not so easily overcome. Still our knowledge of the Roman architecture in Syria has been so greatly extended of late years, and our present familiarity with the Christian and other styles that grew out of it, affords so many hints, that its general appearance may probably be reproduced within very narrow limits of uncertainty.

The first-named cause was, however, even more fatal to success than ignorance of style, for although all were agreed that the Temple stood somewhere within the enclosure called the Haram ash Sharif, till very recently no plans of that area existed that could at all be depended upon. The first that had any pretension to accuracy was made by Mr. Catherwood, who, in company with Messrs. Arundale and Bonomi, spent six weeks in the Haram area in 1833, exploring, drawing, and measuring everything with the most exemplary diligence. On their return home, they published a small plan, octavo size, as the first result of their survey, but they never received sufficient encouragement to enable them to produce their more detailed and complete illustrations of the place. It was not, therefore, till after Mr. Catherwood's death in 1850, when his papers came into my hands, that any attempt was made to produce a perfect plan. His survey was made and protracted on a scale of 10 feet to 1 inch, but unfortunately not all on one sheet, but on some thirty or forty bits of paper, some pasted, some pinned together, but many loose and with the points of junction imperfectly marked. I spent both time and money on these materials, but the result was never quite satisfactory.[1] It was not therefore till 1868, when the Ordnance Survey of the

[1] The plan was engraved at the Admiralty, and published in 1861, in a single sheet 25 by 38 inches, on a scale of 54 feet to 1 inch.

Haram area, made under the superintendence of Captain (now Major) Wilson, R.E., was published that any perfectly reliable data existed. As might be expected, this document leaves very little to be desired, except that, being on so small a scale, little more than 41 feet to 1 inch, or 1-500th, and no dimensions being figured, it is not always easy to be sure—as will be explained farther on—of the correctness of any dimensions that may be taken from it.

In addition to the advantages afforded by these more correct surveys, the Haram area itself is now easily accessible to all travellers on the payment of a small fee. All can consequently verify or correct their impressions by actual inspection of the place itself, and can familiarise themselves with the features of the locality in a manner not easily done by those who have never visited the site.

Notwithstanding these advantages, it does not appear that any greater degree of harmony has of late years been produced among those who have devoted their attention to the subject. The Count de Vogüé, for instance, spreads out the Temple over the whole Haram area, making it, in direct defiance of every written authority and every local indication—so far as I can judge—upwards of 1500 feet north and south, by an average breadth of about 1000 feet.[1]

The Rev. George Williams, it is presumed with the approval of the late Professor Willis, cuts off about 500 feet from the southern end of the Haram, and places his Temple, about 1000 feet square, in the northern division.[2] Dr. Robinson, the American, on the contrary, cuts off 600 feet from the northern end, and leaves his Temple a little more than 900 feet square in the southern portion;[3] while Captain Warren's last theory makes it a quadrangular figure, with only two right angles, and the sides varying from 922 to 1138 feet.[4]

In 1847 I published my views,[5] stating my conviction to be, that the Temple was a rectangle 600 feet square, and situated in the south-western angle of the Haram area. Since then, Messrs. Tobler and Rosen have published works in German, in which they adopt the same dimensions, but place the Temple in the south-east corner—while Messrs. Thrupp[6] and Lewin[7] adopt both the same dimensions as I did before them, and place the Temple in the same locality. Others adopt plans more or less in accordance or at variance with the above, the views of their authors being mainly influenced by certain topographical and religious questions, whose determination is supposed to depend on the position assigned to the Temple itself.

I am not, of course, in the following pages going to attempt to refute the

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[1] Le Temple de Jérusalem, folio, Paris, 1864. *Vide* Appendix.

[2] The Holy City, vol. ii. pp. 360 *et seqq.* Neither his text nor his map is quite distinct on this point. He does not in fact appear to have been quite able to make up his own mind regarding it.

[3] Biblical Researches, vol. i. p. 430.

[4] Underground Jerusalem, p. 80.

[5] Topography of Jerusalem, pp. 5–30.

[6] Antient Jerusalem, 8vo., 1855. In his introduction to Jerusalem Recovered, p. 30, Captain Wilson mentions Thrupp's plan with approval, but makes no allusion to my labours in publishing Catherwood's plan, and does not mention that, with the slightest variation, Thrupp's plan was copied from mine.

[7] Archæologia, xliv. pl. 1.

views of the authors just enumerated. If I am right, it follows as a matter of course that all except the two last-named must be wrong, and it will be sufficient to prove my own case to make it clear that they are so.

It may seem presumptuous—perhaps is so—on my part to venture to differ not only from those above quoted, but from many others with whose views I do not agree; but the fact, so far as I am able to judge, seems to be, that no one since the recently acquired information became available, has taken the trouble and pains necessary to master the whole subject. No one, so far as I know, has gone through all the Temples from the Tabernacle, to the destruction of the last by Titus, protracting each peculiarity as it arose, and superimposing each addition or alteration on the same plan. No one, while doing this, has attempted, in modern times, to co-ordinate the Bible, the historians, and the Talmud, so as to get a consistent answer out of their frequently discordant testimonies. Lightfoot[1] and the Rabbis[2] have attempted the latter task with great industry, but they failed for want of the local knowledge, and of the architectural skill necessary to solve the problem. Whether in this instance, long study, combined with local knowledge and a certain amount of architectural skill, together with the new materials now available, will suffice to settle the questions regarding the Temple, hitherto in dispute, remains to be seen. So far as I am capable of forming an opinion, the task now appears easy, and the result certain, within very narrow limits of deviation in any direction.

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[1] Prospect of the Temple, first published in folio in 1649. In the following pages I have used the 8vo. edition of 1823, vol. ix.

[2] My information on the subject is principally derived from the Codex Middoth, sive de Mensuris Templi—in Hebrew—cum versione latina operâ et studio Constantini l'Empereur, de Oppyck, Lugduni Batavorum, 1630. But, for convenience of reference, a translation of the Middoth made by the Rev. Dr. Barclay, and published at Jerusalem in 1867, is reprinted, with his permission, in the Appendix.

CHAPTER II.

AUTHORITIES.

As in almost all similar cases, the data available for the elucidation of the subject are twofold in their nature. First, there are the written authorities, and, next, the topographical or local indications. If these cannot be reconciled, *cadit quæstio*, a satisfactory solution is impracticable. If they are found to be in accordance with one another, like the testimony of two perfectly independent witnesses, they may, in most cases, be considered as settling the points in dispute.

In the present instance, the Bible, of course, is the first and most important witness, and would also be the last it would be necessary to call, if it contained all we want to know. It is, however, in no sense a topographical work, and what we gather from it, in that respect, is generally obtained more from incidental allusions than from any purposelike indications. Still, in so far as the Tabernacle is concerned, it is, with Josephus' paraphrase, the only witness, and fortunately, in this instance, is sufficient and complete. So too it is with the dimensions and most of the details of Solomon's Temple, but the books which describe it, are provokingly silent as to the size and disposition of its courts. The descriptions of the Temple contained in the 40th to 43rd chapters of Ezekiel in a great measure supply this deficiency, and with some allusions in Esdras, and one invaluable passage in Hecatæus, enable us, as will be explained in the sequel, to feel very great confidence that we can ascertain what the dimensions and disposition of the Temple were before it was rebuilt and reformed by Herod.

Unfortunately, the New Testament affords few indications that are of much importance from a topographical point of view. But this deficiency is in a great measure supplied by the works of Josephus, who was not only personally familiar with the localities, but who, in writing his 'Antiquities' and 'History of the Wars of the Jews,' had ocassion to investigate carefully all the authorities bearing on the subject. Yet Josephus can seldom be implicitly relied upon, or his statements accepted as final, without careful examination. One of his great objects in writing his works was to exalt his people in the eyes of their conquerors, because he thereby flattered his patrons, the Romans, by exaggerating the greatness of the resistance they had overcome. At the same time, by so doing, he gratified his own pride as a Jew by magnifying the importance of his people, and so perhaps sought to make some amends for the unpatriotic and not very dignified part he had taken in their last struggle for independence. Still, he is generally so correct in his

topographical details, in so far at least as the plan of the Temple is concerned, that I cannot help feeling—as was first suggested to me by George Finlay, the historian of Greece under the Romans[1]—that he wrote, with a plan of the city and its buildings before him. That the Romans were first-rate surveyors is certain, and nothing is more probable than that they should make careful plans of the important fortresses they conquered; but, be that as it may, at the time Josephus wrote, Jerusalem was in the hands of the Romans, and the ruins of the Temple were still sufficiently distinct to be easily recognisable. He no more dared to exaggerate them in plan than he would have dared to falsify the dimensions of any building in Rome itself. Detection would have been sure to follow. But when it came to height, the case was different. Once knocked down or destroyed, no one could say what the height of any building may have been, nor of what parts its elevation was made up; and it is curious to observe into what strange contradictions the absence of all memoranda regarding heights frequently betrayed him. The tendency to exaggeration also led him sometimes to employ expressions which nothing can justify, as, for instance, when he says[2] that, "when you looked down from the roof of the Stoa Basilica, you could not see the bottom of the valley, it was so far off," or when he asserts[3] that "the height of the north-east angle of the Temple over the 'so-called valley of Kedron' was so great as to be terrific"; which it could not have been on any theory of the Temple yet proposed. These, in any other author, would be regarded as mere rhetorical flourishes, but, in so controverted a matter as the site of the Temple, have led to half the misunderstandings that exist regarding it, and have prevented the statements of Josephus from being received with the confidence they generally so well deserve.

There is still another point of view from which Josephus' statements must be received with considerable caution. Though so excellent a topographer, he was no antiquary—no one indeed was in his days—and he was consequently careless as to who the actual builders of the Temple were, and often contradicts himself in his attempts to assign his portion to each. Thus there is no doubt that in the 8th book of the 'Antiquities' (3, 91) he ascribes the building of the whole of the outer courts, to the extent of 400 cubits square, to Solomon. Nor can it be denied that the description in the 15th book (11, 3) of the same work may be construed as bearing the same interpretation, though this view is contradicted by the context in the same passage. It is besides directly at variance with his own statements in other parts of his work; as, for instance, where he says,[4] "King Solomon first built one cloister on the bank cast up for it to the eastward of the Temple, but all the other parts of the house stood naked," and then describes how future generations, and especially Herod, had enlarged the area to its present

[1] On the Site of the Holy Sepulchre (Smith, Elder, & Co., London, 1847), pp. 35 *et seqq.*
[2] Ant. xv. 11, 5. [3] B. J. vi. 3, 2. [4] B. J. v. 5, 1.

extent; which, as he says,[1] "was twice the extent of the former Temple, which, up to Herod's time, had sufficed for the Jewish people of the old dispensation."

In all this we clearly perceive the tendency of the historian's mind to exaggerate the greatness of everything belonging to his people; and as Solomon was the greatest of their kings, his works must be extolled and made as great as it was possible; but with all this the inevitable limit of 400 cubits was always before him. The Romans were not likely to enquire, or to care whether it was built by Solomon or Zerubbabel, or by Herod; but they did know its extreme limits were one stadium each way, and to his credit, be it said, in no instance does Josephus swerve from this limitation. Whether, as we shall presently see, he speaks of it as measuring 1 stadium[2] or of 400 cubits[3]—and he never either exceeds or deducts from these dimensions—with him the Temple of Jerusalem was a square building measuring 600 feet each way; and whether he was right or wrong in this, it is at least his principal contribution to our knowledge of the limits of the structure, and governs all the rest, internally at least.

The Talmud, which is our next authority on the subject, is of a totally different character from the two just described; and though its testimony is frequently most valuable, and, in fact, indispensable, it must be taken at all times with caution, and its sources examined with critical care. According to the best modern authorities, the Jerusalem Talmud was compiled in the second or third century after Christ; the Babylonian in the fourth or fifth.[4] None, therefore, of the Rabbis, to whom it owes its present form, could have seen the Temple in its perfect state; and it is very doubtful how many—if, indeed, any—of them had been allowed to visit Jerusalem or inspect its ruins. Certain it is, at all events, that, for the greater part of these early centuries, the Jews were forbidden to approach the Holy City; and if they did so, it was in secret, and without daring to show themselves openly. It can hardly be wondered at if, under these circumstances, their descriptions of the Temple want the completeness that might have been obtained from eye-witnesses. Still, they seem to have had measurements and details handed down from father to son, the accuracy of which there is no reason for doubting; and there were measurements recorded in earlier works which may have been obtained from personal inspection, and which they quote apparently with perfect fidelity, but too frequently without understanding their application. One thing, however, may be said of the Rabbis which cannot always be said of Josephus. They never exaggerate, and never knowingly misrepresent the facts in their possession. Their errors arise from ignorance, never from bad faith. Their materials did not suffice to enable them to grasp the whole subject; and it is also probable that they were incapable of making a plan or protracting their measurements in a formal manner, so that their use of

[1] B. J. 1, 21, 1. [2] Ant. xv. 11, 3 and 9. [3] Ant. xx. 10, 7, and viii. 3, 9.
[4] Munk, Description de la Palestine, Paris, 1863, p. 608.

them is deficient in completeness, and the connexion between them is not always clear. In addition to this, the Rabbis were always haunted with the idea—laudable in itself—that they must make their dimensions accord with those of Ezekiel, in which they were not only justified, but correct. But before attempting this, they ought to have been perfectly sure that they knew what Ezekiel did say or meant. This was not, and is not in all instances, easy; and the Rabbis do not certainly seem to have been equal to the task, and consequently make some mistakes which have tended to confuse their descriptions to a considerable extent. Another source of error and uncertainty is that the Talmudists generally entirely ignore the additions and alterations made by Herod. Their descriptions and measurements are principally confined to the inner courts, into which Herod never was allowed to enter;[1] and consequently, when we attempt to combine their measurements of the "Mountain of the House" with those of the "Temple," as they understood it, we find that they fall into mistakes the presence of which is easily detected, though their source is not always so easily explained.

From the time of the Talmudists we have no direct testimony as to the form or dimensions of the Temple, but a good deal of collateral evidence which is satisfactory, even if not decisive. Procopius,[2] for instance, describes in great detail the church Justinian built at Jerusalem, and in greater detail the difficulty he had in making a platform for it, on the very uneven piece of ground he had chosen for its site. So distinct are the indications thus afforded that few have doubted but that the southern portion of the Haram area is the locality indicated; and notwithstanding the various ingenious hypotheses that have been invented to escape the inevitable conclusion, it seems quite clear that the vaults to the eastward of the Triple Gateway are the substructions which Justinian erected to support his buildings. It seems also evident that he was forced to undertake all this labour and expense in order to avoid the area of the accursed Temple of the Jews, where his predecessor Julian had been so signally defeated in his attempts to restore it.

The Mahomedans and their historians bear equally distinct testimony to what they knew in the seventh century to be the site of the Temple. They knew perfectly well where the Jewish Altar formerly stood, and they knew also that the Temple stood to the westward of it; but the necessities of their liturgy forced them to turn to Mecca when they prayed, and they could not consequently re-erect it on its original site. They therefore pivoted their mosque El Aksa, which they intended to be a reproduction of the Temple, on the same Altar, but turned its axis towards the south instead of the west, as the Jews had done in former times, and thus, as they thought, combined the merits of the sanctuary at Jerusalem with those of that at Mecca.

[1] Ant. xv. 11, 5. [2] De Edificiis, b. v. c. vi. See Appendix.

There are numerous other indications spread through the writers from the fourth to the fourteenth centuries of no great value individually, but which, when taken with those above enumerated, make up a ball so complete, "totus teres atque rotundus," that it rolls pleasantly along the path of truth, and is not stopped by any inequalities or unnecessary friction.

We shall have frequent opportunities of referring to these written authorities in the sequel, and of estimating their value or defects. Had they sufficed, the problem would have long ago been solved by such men as Lightfoot and others who were perfectly familiar with all that had been written on the subject. But in themselves they have not been found sufficient, and the advantage we have now over these earlier restorers, is the possession of correct topographical knowledge, which has only recently become available. In this respect the Ordnance Survey of the Haram area, executed by a party of British sappers, under the direction of Captain (now Major) Wilson, in 1864–5, leaves little to be desired. There seems to be no doubt that it is as absolutely correct as anything of the sort can be, but it has two defects which detract considerably from its utility for our present purpose. In the first place, it is, as already pointed out, engraved on too small a scale—1-500th of the real size, or 41·66 feet to 1 inch; and on such a scale it is extremely difficult to obtain any dimension you are looking for with the accuracy that might be desirable. Another defect, for architectural purposes, which it has in common with all ordnance surveys, is that no dimensions are figured upon it. Every measurement must be obtained from the scale, and that is more difficult than can well be understood by anyone who has not tried it. In the first place, the scale is not one ordinarily in use in this country, and when you do get a foot or any other measure divided into 500 parts, you find that it does not agree with the paper scale. In copper-plate printing the paper is damped, and, when it dries, shrinks 2 or 3 per cent. more or less; and even when you get an ivory scale engraved from the paper scale, it does not give correct measurements for different sheets of the same survey, nor in different hygrometric states of the atmosphere. The answer the surveyors make to these complaints is to refer you to the paper scale on each sheet. There, however, the smallest division of the scale is 10 feet; smaller subdivisions are hardly possible, and are soon worn out if an attempt is made to use them. All this tends to make the task difficult, and may lead to slight inaccuracies; but as the plan of the Temple adopted in this work has been drawn *on* the Ordnance Survey, and not from dimensions taken from it, the errors cannot be of any such extent as to invalidate the conclusions arrived at.[1]

[1] The praise of accuracy must be understood as applying only to the work of Major Wilson, which was engraved at the Ordnance Office at Southampton. The surveys of Captain Warren, though equally executed by sappers, have only been published in rough lithographs executed from tentative drawings sent home by him during the progress of the survey, or in a popular manner, and on a small scale, in a work entitled The Recovery of

In addition to the assistance obtained from the written descriptions of the Temple, and the local indications of the surveyors, there is still a third class of evidence which is almost as important as either of these two, for obtaining a correct idea of the form or appearance of the building. This is derived from considerations of architectural propriety and commonsense. The experience of the last 300 years has shown that the "litera scripta" alone is not sufficient to enable even the most learned men to arrive at correct conclusions on the subject; while the experience of the last half-century, during the greater part of which Catherwood's surveys have been available, and access has been allowed to the localities, seems to indicate that local knowledge rather tends to aggravate the differences between the restorers. Neither alone, nor even together, do these seem to suffice, and in order to obtain any satisfactory results, it seems indispensable that the architect should intervene to supply what is inevitably omitted from all mere verbal descriptions, and to utilise those local indications which, in the present instance, are unfortunately scant and not always easily recognisable. More than this. Just as the historian is obliged to select, out of a number of conflicting narratives, those incidents which appear to him either those most probable or most in accord with the known circumstances of the case, the architect must take upon himself the responsibility of deciding, where conflicting statements are made, either by the same authors or by different authorities, which shall be accepted; and when anything manifestly absurd is put forward, he must be allowed to reject, if he cannot explain it. When, for instance, the text of Ezekiel as it now stands represents the cells surrounding the Temple as constructed so that neither light nor air could ever reach them, it may safely be concluded that this was not so, and that the text is either corrupt or, at present at least, unintelligible. In the same manner, when Josephus says, these same cells were only 5 cubits square on plan, but 20 cubits in height, we may reject the statement as certainly erroneous; and the more so that in this instance we can detect the motive of the misstatement. Again, when the Talmud states that there was an upper room over the Temple 20 cubits broad, 40 high, and 60 in length, and that it was approachable only by a ladder of wood, we may, even if we admit the credibility of the first part of the statement, reject the latter as wholly improbable. Such instances are, unfortunately, only too common, as we shall see in the sequel; and it is only by the exercise of architectural criticism that they can be eliminated, and what remains co-ordinated into a harmonious whole. We must be allowed to assume that the architects who built the successive Temples at Jerusalem, especially those in Herod's time, were not incompetent blunderers, but that they knew

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Jerusalem, in 1860. As neither of these make any pretension to scientific accuracy, Major Wilson has undertaken to republish his Notes, incorporating Captain Warren's work with his own. The difficulty, however, of reconciling the two has been so great that the task has been indefinitely delayed, and may not improbably have to be abandoned. We know roughly the result of Captain Warren's three years' exploration, but in a form which, to say the least of it, is extremely unsatisfactory, and which can, in no instance, be implicitly relied upon.

something of their business, and were capable of arranging the various parts of their buildings so as to be convenient for the purposes for which they were designed, and also of putting them together so as to form a harmonious and dignified design.

Where, it appears to me, most of the restorations hitherto proposed have broken down is because these principles have not been kept steadily in view. In some instances the statements of Josephus, or of the Talmud, have been rejected bodily without due consideration, or adopted literally without discrimination, and no one, so far as I know, has put himself in the position of an architect designing a building, and tried, with the aid of the facts and hints that are available, to design such a building as the Temple of the Jews really must have been in the days of its magnificence. When, however, all the three classes of evidence just enumerated are duly tested and co-ordinated, they will, I believe, be found quite sufficient to enable us to restore not only the plan but the elevation of the Temple with very considerable accuracy. When the details gathered from surrounding buildings of the same age are added, we may, I believe, realise its appearance as nearly as we can, that of almost any other now ruined building of antiquity.

In so far as the plan is concerned, there are not any essential points that appear to me open to dispute. It may be that the central point of the altar north and south is 66½ or even 67 cubits distant from the inner face of the wall of the court instead of 66, as I have placed it, for reasons given farther on. East and west its position is fixed within inches by the central line of the Huldah Gateway. It may be also that I have not quite understood the arrangements of the Chel, in front of the Court of the Women; but nothing hangs on these, and beyond them every dimension, in plan, seems capable of almost mathematical proof. The elevation admits of considerably greater latitude of interpretation, but even here the possible variations are not so great as might at first sight appear. The design represents a building 120 cubits in height, made up of parts, for every one of which an authority can be quoted, or a logical reason given; while it furnishes *an* answer to every question raised tending towards the solution of the problem. I am far from suggesting that it is *the* answer, or the only one that can be given, but as it is an answer, and in accordance with all we know of the utilitarian or artistic exigencies of the building, it may, perhaps, be allowed to stand till a better is suggested.

Whether such an amelioration is likely to be soon suggested or not, will depend on circumstances; first, whether any new discoveries are likely to be made on the spot, which may tend to modify the views now put forward; and, secondly, whether any one with more skill is likely soon to take the amount of pains requisite to investigate the problem more thoroughly. The latter contingency may arise any day, but my impression is that we really know all that is essential of the character of the Haram area. The doubtful features have less bearing on the Jewish antiquities than on those of the Christian epoch, which

form the third and concluding part of this work, and are not consequently referred to in this one. Such as they are, they can have very little influence on our reasoning, in so far as the Temple itself at least is concerned.

On the whole, it appears to me that the problem is ripe for decision. The literary materials have been sufficiently discussed, the local features examined with sufficient care, and the architectural style of the age known as nearly as we shall ever probably know it now. It seems, therefore, that the time has arrived when the whole may be put together in a manner to challenge a decision, and if this is so, it would be a cause for regret if the task were any longer delayed. With all our additional knowledge, it certainly seems expedient that an attempt at least should be made, to replace the wild dreams that have hitherto been prevalent regarding the buildings in the Haram area, by something more substantial and more in accordance with the results of recent researches.

CHAPTER III.

JEWISH MEASURES.

BEFORE proceeding to describe the plans and elevations of the various Temples of the Jews, it is indispensable that we should try at least to obtain a clear understanding with regard to the length of the cubits or other measures employed by the various authors on whose writings we depend for our knowledge of their dimensions. Fortunately this is by no means difficult; and if restorers had only taken the pains to ascertain this beforehand, most of the confusion that exists on the subject might long ago have been avoided.

It is, I believe, admitted by all that the Jews employed two kinds of cubits—one equal to about 15 English inches; the other, called a cubit and a hand-breadth, to about 18 of our inches; and, generally, it is understood that the smaller cubit was used for measuring the vessels or metal work of the Temple, the larger for the stone work or generally for the building. There was also the Babylonian cubit of 21 inches, which has been supposed to have been brought back after the Captivity, and to have been then employed in the erection of the Temple.

This variety of measures has unfortunately allowed a wide margin for enabling restorers to adapt the statements of authors to their theories, and for reconciling those that appear conflicting. The Rabbis, for instance, try to make it appear that the measures of the Temple given by Josephus and those in the Talmud are practically the same; 400 Greek cubits of 18 inches, they say, are equal to 600 feet, while 500 Jewish cubits of 15 inches are only 625, a difference so small that it may safely be overlooked;[1] while those who want to extend the area of the Temple use the larger cubit in support of their conclusions.[2] All these discussions may, however, be fairly set aside, and need not be entered on here, for the simple reason that, whatever cubit may be adopted, it must be applied to all buildings and all parts of the building, and not, as the Rabbis propose, only to the principal measurements and not to the details. This will become quite clear as we proceed, inasmuch as all our authorities—the Bible, the Talmud, and Josephus—when speaking of the same place, always use the same measurements where it is a place or thing the dimensions of which were sacred and known. The only exception to this is where Josephus, with his tendency

[1] Constantine l'Empereur, Middoth, p. 36.

[2] Captain Warren not only uses the large cubit, but assumes that, when Josephus said feet—which, by the way, he never did in so far as the plans are concerned—he meant cubits! and on these two assumptions he bases his restoration of the Temple. Athenæum, February 1875; Quarterly Reports, Palestine Exploration Fund, 1875, pp. 97 *et seqq.*

to exaggerate, uses cubits when the real dimension is only the same number of feet; as, for instance, in describing the altar, he says it was 50 cubits square and 15 cubits high,[1] whereas, as we shall see in the sequel, it was 33 cubits or 49½ feet across and 10 cubits or 15 feet in height; and he indulges in the same mode of exaggeration in describing the gates and various parts of the Temple. When, however, any of the authorities speak of the general dimensions of the Holy House, of the Holy of Holies, the Holy Place, and, generally, of the sacred measurements of the Temple, there is no variation that would lead us to suspect that any other measure was employed than the cubit of 18 inches.

This will be made so clear from the annexed table of the principal dimensions of all the Temples, from the Tabernacle in the Wilderness to the Temple of Herod, that it hardly appears necessary to argue the question further, at present at least, or till some argument is brought forward to invalidate the conclusion it inevitably leads to, which has not hitherto been done. It will of course be understood that, where they can be identified as describing the same parts, the figures in the first column, which give the dimensions of the Tabernacle, are exactly one-half of those of Solomon's or of any other subsequent Temple.

Dimensions of the Temples of the Jews.		Tabernacle of Moses.	Temple of Solomon.	Temple of Ezekiel.	Temple of Zerubbabel according to Bible.	Temple of Herod according to Josephus.	Temple of Herod according to Talmud.
		Cubits.	Cubits.	Cubits.	Cubits.	Cubits.	Cubits.
Holy of Holies	Length	10	20	20	*20*	20	20
	Width	10	20	20	*20*	20	20
	Height	10	20	20	*20*	20	20
Holy place	Length	20	40	40	*40*	40	40
	Width	10	20	20	*20*	20	20
	Height	15	30	*30*	*30*	60	40
Porch	Depth	5	10	10	*10*	20	11
	Width	10	20	20	*20*	50	. .
Verandah	Width	5	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Chambers	Width	5(?)	5	5	5	5	5[2]
Chamber and gallery	Width	. .	12½	20	*20*	20	25
Total of Temple	Length	40	90	90	*90*	100	100
	Width	20	45	60	60	60	70
	Height	15	*60*	*60*	60	100	100
Inner courts	Length	100	*200*	200	*200*	*200*	187
	Breadth	50	*100*	*100*	*100*	*150*	135
Outer courts	Length	. .	*100*	100	*333*	400	500
	Breadth	. .	*100*	100	*100*	400	500
Sanctuary	Length	. .	. .	3000	. .	. .	. .
	Breadth	. .	. .	3000	. .	. .	. .

NOTE.—The figures printed in italics are obtained by calculation or from other authorities.

Though this table is sufficient to show that all the authorities, when speaking of the same thing, used the same cubit, it does not tell us what the exact length of that cubit was. This, however, we are fortunately able to obtain by a reference to the Ordnance Survey, and though the answer may not be so absolutely correct

[1] B. J. v. 6.

[2] This refers only to the lower storey.

as that obtained from the measurement of the Parthenon, for instance, it is quite sufficiently near for all the purposes of our present investigation. In order, however, to explain how this result is to be obtained, it is necessary to anticipate a little what is to follow, and to point out that one of the most prominent characteristics of Jewish architecture was their love of even numbers, as indeed the table just quoted is sufficient to prove, and their employment of one definite integer in every part of their buildings. In the Tabernacle, for instance, 5 cubits was the dimension chosen, and every measurement was a multiple of this. In the Temple it was 10 cubits, and every measurement, consequently, results in some multiple of this number. So much is this the case that, when any calculation or protraction leads to any less terminal number than ten, we may feel sure we are on a wrong path, and must try back till we obtain an even result, unless indeed it happens, as we can see in some rare instances, that there is some good reason why it should be otherwise.

When we come to apply to the Ordnance Survey the measurements derived from the authorities, as well as those obtained by calculation from this doctrine of equal integers, we arrive at some very unexpected results. When, for instance, Josephus tells us that the Temple was an exact square, measuring a stadium or 600 Greek feet each way, we should expect its southern face to measure 607 feet 6 inches English, as the difference between the English and Greek foot is ascertained to be $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.[1] On the Survey, however, the distance measures only 585 feet English, or 390 cubits; ten less than we were led to expect, even on the assumption that the cubit was composed of 18 English instead of 18 Greek inches. The distance north and south, however, measures exactly 600 English feet, or 400 cubits. So, too, when we obtain from the authorities, or from calculation, that the inner court of the Temple measured 200 cubits by 150, and the outer courts or porticos 100, 90, 70, 60, 30, and so on, and come to protract these on the Ordnance Survey, we find that a cubit of 18 inches English meets all the difficulties of the case with as much accuracy as can be obtained from a plan without figured dimensions.

It may, of course, be only an accidental coincidence, and if anyone likes to assume that it is, he is at liberty to do so, as the mathematical proof of the fact is difficult, if not impossible. I can only say that the result of my researches has been to leave, on my mind, the conviction that, as in the Tabernacle every dimension was set out with a reed of 5 cubits, so in the Temple every important dimension was set out with a reed of 10 cubits, and that the reed used for the latter building measured 180 English inches within so small a fraction that its presence cannot be detected on the Ordnance Survey.[2]

[1] Penrose, Principles of Athenian Architecture, folio, Murray, 1851.

[2] I am afraid my friend Piazzi Smyth may seize on this as a confirmation of his theory that his Pyramid inches are identical with English inches. My impression, however, is that it is, in this instance at least, a coincidence, and nothing more.

CHAPTER IV.

THE TABERNACLE.

IT would be difficult in the whole range of architectural history to find a more curious or complete example of Darwinian development than that exemplified in the various changes the Temple of the Jews underwent when restored or rebuilt at various intervals during the long period of its existence. Originally a tent, possibly evolved out of a sacred tent of the Midianites, it was rebuilt by Solomon with only such differences as were indispensable in changing a portable structure of wood and cloth into a permanent stone building, with increased dimensions. It is described by Ezekiel as practically the same building, with such additions as in his vision seemed necessary to render it the perfect ideal of a Jewish temple; and it was rebuilt, by Herod, practically the same in plan, but with such further additions as were indispensable to make it worthy of its more magnificent surroundings, and to provide for the accommodation of the Gentiles, who had become an important element in this quasi-Roman city. Yet in all these changes, the building remained essentially the same. The Jews never forgot or overlooked their belief that the dimensions of the Tabernacle were divinely revealed to Moses, and were as essential a part of their ritual as any other of the ceremonial observances ordained in the Pentateuch. It would have been sacrilege to alter what was originally ordered, but it was permitted to add what would render the structure more worthy of its sacred purposes, provided the sacred elements in the design remained unchanged.

It is this curious unchangeableness in all essentials, combined with such apparent differences in external forms, which not only makes up the great interest of the building, but which alone enables us to understand its design and arrangements. Except the descriptions of the Tabernacle, none of those of the succeeding Temples are sufficiently complete to be intelligible by themselves, but when taken as parts of a series, in conjunction with what preceded or followed, there is very little difficulty in understanding them, and in many instances of proving the case with almost mathematical precision. What, in fact, has rendered the restorations of the Temple hitherto attempted so unsatisfactory is that the question has not been looked at from this point of view. Restorers have taken up the Bible, or the Talmud, or Josephus, and tried out of their descriptions to restore the Temples of Solomon or of Herod, without much reference to what these authors said about the other buildings of the series, and it is consequently not to be

wondered at if many points still remain in doubt. In like manner, it has been too much the habit to consider Ezekiel's Temple as a dream, nearly unintelligible, and as having very little bearing on the question of the form of the other Temples. It is, it must be confessed, more difficult to understand it, than the description of the others, because the Temple he saw in a vision never had any existence in reality, and is only a record from memory of what had existed before the Captivity, embellished with such additions and improvements as he hoped might be introduced, if it ever was re-erected. Notwithstanding this, a really profound Hebrew scholar might, by a retranslation of the text, make more of it than has hitherto been done, but to do it well, he must also be an architect. The Rabbis, we may assume, were at least scholars, and were bent most anxiously not only on understanding, but on utilising Ezekiel's description; yet, as we shall see in the sequel, almost all the great mistakes they fell into arose from their inability to realise the exact meaning of the prophet's words.

If any one wishes to realise how little skill or commonsense has hitherto been applied to this subject, he has only to refer to the restoration of the Tabernacle which has been usually accepted for the last two centuries. It is hardly worth while to enquire who first suggested it, but certainly since Augustin Calmet's time (1722) it has been seriously put forward as a scientific solution of the question, and every pictorial Bible and every treatise on Jewish antiquities has adopted it without question—nor does it seem to have occurred to any one to find fault with it. According to this scheme, the Tabernacle was a wooden box, 30 cubits long by 10 cubits wide, and 10 cubits in height, open at one end, and roofed by curtains thrown across it like a pall over an open coffin. Yet such a restoration seems impossible. In the first place, it does not accord with the description in the Book of Exodus, but more so because it is absolutely opposed to commonsense; and, as said above, we are not justified in assuming that those who designed it were fools, but it is quite evident that, if it were so constructed, it would have been better without any roof at all. If any one will only try, or even think, he will find that it is impossible to stretch a linen curtain across such an open space of 15 feet, without it sagging in the centre, so that every drop of rain that fell upon it, must fall through, and heaping rams' skins and badger skins upon it[1] would only make it worse. Their weight, especially when wet, would only make it sag more, and they would act as sponges to retain any drops that might otherwise in a tempest be blown away or escape.

Many who have accepted this theory without thinking have probably done so on the idea that no rain falls in the Desert. This, however, seems far from being the case, for though we have no observations extending through the whole year, Major Wilson records,[2] during his short stay there, that rain

[1] Exodus xx. 14. [2] Meteorological Notes in Wilson's Account of the Survey, pp. 237 *et seqq.*

fell at Ed Deir on four days in December, and on three days in January and two days in February at Feiran. The amount was small, but one-third of an inch fell in one day at Feiran. The peninsula is, however, occasionally visited by violent storms called *seils* by the Arabs, which are accompanied by torrents of rain.[1] Snow also is recorded as falling there in December, which indeed we might expect from Josephus' statement that the Tabernacle was provided with a curtain in front to protect it from snow,[2] which at least shows that its designers were not indifferent to the effect of weather on the structure. It is difficult, of course, even to guess whether the climate was the same in the time of the Exodus as now. But from the apparent greater fertility of the spot then, it may be that the rainfall was greater than at present. Even now, however, the rainfall is sufficient to require protection against its effects, and if the Tabernacle had a roof at all, it must have been one capable of sheltering the interior against its effects.

It must, however, be borne in mind that the Tabernacle was not intended for use in the Desert only, but was to accompany the Israelites in all their wanderings towards the Promised Land. It did so, and rested during the whole period of the Judges at Shiloh, sheltering the Ark, and containing the Urim and Thummim,[3] and all the sacred things of the Jews till the time of Saul;[4] and though then deprived of the Ark, it still remained the movable temple of the nation, till a permanent abode was provided by Solomon.[5] In Judea the rainfall is at least equal to that of the central counties in England, and, as it all falls during the winter months, is far more concentrated and violent than anything known in this country. Consequently, any structure that was not thoroughly water-proof would have been in Judea quite unsuited for the purposes for which the Tabernacle was designed, and to which it was applied for at least three hundred years.

While, therefore, the flat-roofed form may at once be rejected as impossible, it seems by no means difficult to suggest what was the form that was actually adopted. The Tabernacle was a tent (σκηνή), and, like all tents, must have had a ridge and sloping sides. That this was the case with the Jewish Tabernacle seems evident, because, whenever this idea is fairly grasped, all difficulty disappears not only in reconciling all its parts with the text of the Bible, but also with all the conditions of the problem in so far as construction and the exigencies of the climate are concerned.[6]

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[1] One is most graphically described by the Rev. F. W. Holland, in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. xxxviii. 1868.

[2] Antiquities, iii. 6, 4.

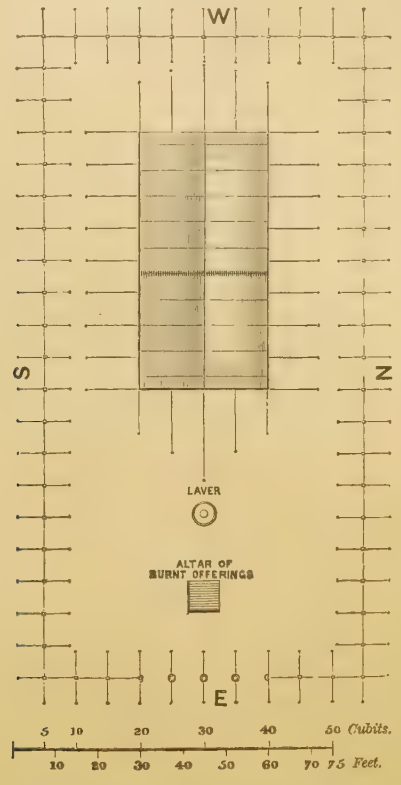
[3] Joshua ix. 27; xviii. 1.

[4] 1 Samuel iv. 22.

[5] 1 Kings iii. 15; 2 Chron. i. 3.

[6] I believe I was the first to propose this solution, in the article "Temple," in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, in 1863; and as this seems to be generally admitted, I may some day get credit for it. At all events, it has now been fourteen years before the public, and no one has pointed out any error in it; and it has been introduced into several treatises, sometimes with acknowledgment, sometimes without, but in no instance that I am aware of has any attempt been made to refute it.

The descriptions of the Tabernacle in the Book of Exodus[1] and in the paraphrase of it in Josephus, are so full and so clear that there never has been any difficulty in restoring the walls of the building, nor of ascertaining its dimensions. It was a rectangle, 30 by 10 cubits, which was again subdivided into two parts. An inner—the Holy of Holies—a cube of 10 cubits. The Holy Place measured 20 by 10 cubits on plan, and with the same height of 10 cubits to the top of the boards. This inner rectangle was surrounded by a verandah or



1.—PLAN OF THE TABERNACLE.

porch 5 cubits wide, making the whole plan 20 by 40 cubits, or 30 by 60 feet. It is not easy to ascertain whether any and, if any, what parts of this verandah were enclosed. Judging from the analogy of Solomon's Temple, which was surrounded by small chambers, apparently for the accommodation of the priests employed in the Temple service, it may have been that this verandah was—at night at least—enclosed on all three sides, and probably permanently so at the west end, where two walls are mentioned in the Bible as existing in the structure.[2]

[1] Exodus xxv., xxvi. and xxxvi.

[2] Exodus xxvi. 27.

There is some little difficulty regarding the bars which connected the boards together.[1] According to Josephus, there was only one row of bars upon the sides, six bars, of 5 cubits each, screwed together at their ends, and one bar of 10 cubits at the west end.[2] These were placed, probably, at half the height, or 5 cubits from the ground. This is a singularly appropriate and easily intelligible arrangement, and may have been that which was adopted, though it can only be reconciled with that described in the Bible by assuming some errors or imperfection in the text as it now stands. Literally, it seems to be said there, that there were four rows of jointed bars on either side, each 6 cubits long, and one row in the middle, running the whole length. Considering how carefully each board was provided with sockets and tenons, five rows of bars, one above another, are so extremely improbable that I feel inclined to suggest that the five bars of the Bible are the same as the six of Josephus—their length would be the same, or 30 cubits—and that the middle bar is the ridge pole, which may be said to be "the middle bar in the midst of the boards" (verse 28). I admit that this theory cannot be maintained without doing considerable violence to the text as it stands, especially as regards the place in which the middle bar is mentioned; but I know no other way of reconciling the two authorities; and as nothing really depends upon it, it is hardly worth while pursuing the question farther. It does not in any way affect the form and arrangements of the Tabernacle itself, and nothing at all analogous to these bars occurs in any of the subsequent Temples.

The question, however, of the ridge pole is one of the greatest difficulties—though it is only a negative one—of this restoration. If the Tabernacle was a tent, it must have had a ridge pole, for it would be nearly impossible to stretch a rope east and west for 40 or even for 30 cubits without its sagging in the centre so as to produce a disagreeable effect; not indeed so absurd or so inconvenient as if the roof were flat, as is generally assumed, but still sufficiently so as to be very undesirable. There were, we are told (verse 37) five pillars in front, and it is easy to conceive the centre one of these being raised to the full height of 15 cubits, and even a second of the same height at the distance of 5 cubits behind that. In like manner, it is easy to understand that the two central boards in the rear may each have been carried up to a height of 15 cubits. Even supposing this done, however, we have still a ridge 30 cubits long to support, and this would require at least one post, more probably two posts of 15 cubits each, while of all this there is no mention either in the Bible or in Josephus.

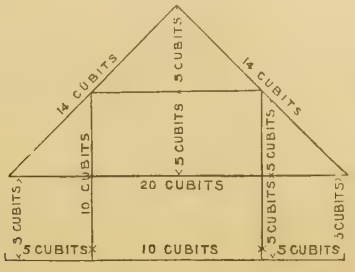
As we shall presently see, precisely the same difficulty occurs with reference to the Temple. If there were pillars on its floor, they are so indistinctly

[1] As all the arguments for the reconstruction of the Tabernacle have been carefully gone into by me in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, vol. iii. pp. 1450, *et seqq.* *sub voce* "Temple," those wanting further information on the subject are referred to the article in question.

[2] Ant. iii. 6, 3.

mentioned in the Bible that no one has—so far as I know—ventured to introduce them. Their existence is, nevertheless, nearly, if not quite, certain. The roof could not have been supported without them, any more than the ridge of the Tabernacle could have been. It seems, in fact, just one of those cases where the constructive necessities of the building must be considered as supplying what the written authorities have omitted to mention. The writers seem to have taken for granted that every one knew these supports were, and must have been, there, and, as mere mechanical pieces of construction, they did not deem it necessary to include them in their description of the glories of the buildings.

With that curious love of numerical similarities which characterised the Jewish Temple builders in all ages, every dimension of the Tabernacle, either in plan or height, was either 5 cubits or a multiple of that measure, with only two exceptions. The curtain was 28, the half-curtain 14 cubits, and for a very evident reason, when it is pointed out. The half-width of the Tabernacle



2.—DIAGRAM SECTION OF TABERNACLE.

was 10 cubits; the height of its roof, as shown in the annexed diagram, was also 10 cubits, and the hypothenuse of the right-angled triangle formed by these two dimensions was 14 cubits, nearly; thus $10^2 + 10^2 = 200$, while $14^2 = 196$ is practically the same, in tent building at least. This was for the inner curtain. The outer was 30 cubits long, so that 1 cubit hung down as a fringe on either side; and in the same manner, when all the inner curtains, which were 4 cubits wide, were joined together, they made two curtains of 20 cubits each, which fitted the length of the Tabernacle as exactly as the 28 cubits did the width; but the outer curtains were eleven in number, or 44 cubits together, and, when joined, were six and five, or 24 and 20 cubits each, so as to break joint with the lower curtains at the central junction, and to hang down 2 cubits at either end. The lengths of the curtains of rams' and badgers' skins are not mentioned, but my impression is that they only covered the two inner apartments, and measured consequently 20 cubits by 14 or, it may be, 15 cubits, as the place where leakages might most be expected was where the curtains rested on the top of the board. Over the verandah the two curtains were amply sufficient. Besides these external curtains, there was "a vail of blue, and purple and scarlet, and fine twined linen, of cunning work,"

suspended on four pillars, probably 5 cubits in height, dividing the Holy Place from the Holy of Holies,[1] and another of the same character hung in front, forming practically the door of the tent, while it probably was protected from the weather by curtains similar to those used for the roof, as shown in the woodcut (No. 3), which, with what has been said above, are probably quite sufficient to explain the general appearance and arrangement of this celebrated portable Temple of the Jews.

The dimensions of the court in which the Tabernacle stood are fortunately given in the Bible with perfect precision. It was 100 cubits east and west, by 50 wide in the contrary direction, and it was surrounded by a screen of fine twined linen, 5 cubits high, supported on pillars 5 cubits apart. Practically it was formed of two square blocks or courts in the front; in one of which stood the

3.—VIEW OF THE TABERNACLE.

altar of burnt-offerings, 5 cubits square, and the laver. In the inner court stood the Tabernacle; unfortunately, we are not told at what distance from the inner wall. Judging by the analogy of the subsequent Temples, it may have been slightly nearer the western enclosure than shown in the woodcut (No. 1). I should have been inclined to place it 5 cubits farther back, but for the difficulty of obtaining sufficient space for the tent ropes in the rear of the building. It seems unlikely that their pins should have been outside the enclosure; but if this were not the case, the Tabernacle could not well be placed farther back than 10 cubits from the wall of fine linen that enclosed the court. The front of Solomon's Temple was practically identical with the line dividing the two courts—90 + 11 = 101 cubits.

[1] There is a slight discrepancy here. If the "taches" mentioned in the 33rd verse are those which joined the curtains of the roof, they divided the whole into two twenties, while this screen was 25 cubits from the front and 15 cubits from the rear. Those of the upper curtains might reduce the discrepancy to 17 and 23, but the allusion to them in the form in which it now stands seems to be a mistake, but one of no great importance. My impression is that the taches here mentioned are those which suspended the vail from the cord or bar that joined the four pillars which separated the Holy Place from the Holy of Holies.

It may have been exactly so, as the last dimension, 11 cubits, is obtained from Herod's Temple, and may have been 10 cubits in Solomon's; indeed, most probably was so, though we have no authority for it. In Ezekiel's Temple the whole of the Holy House was situated within the inner court of 100 cubits square; but, in neither of these instances, had the difficulties of the tent ropes to be encountered, and in this, as in most instances, æsthetic considerations may have been forced to succumb to constructive necessities.

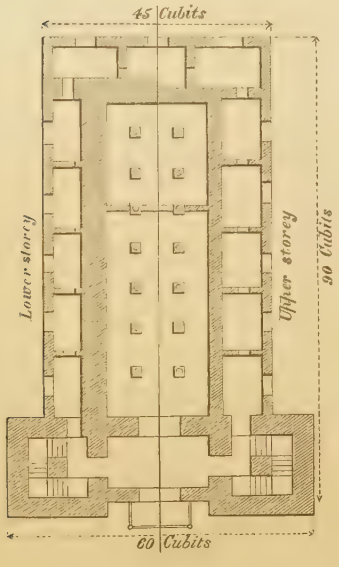
It might be an interesting, though it is to be feared an unprofitable, task to attempt a complete restoration of the Tabernacle in all its details. It, however, is one that can scarcely be undertaken here; in the first place, because the Tabernacle can hardly be ranked as an architectural object in itself, and, secondly, because it never was erected within the Haram area, to which the objects to be described in this volume are strictly limited.

The great difficulty of a restoration is that we do not know where to look for any contemporary suggestion. Naturally we turn first to Egypt, from which the Israelites had so recently returned. There is nothing, however, in the architecture of that country that would lead us to suppose that, in historic times, the Egyptians ever erected wooden temples; and nothing in the thousand and one pictures they have left us suggests tents of any sort being employed for state or festival purposes. In Assyria there is much that is wooden in the style of building, and from the *bassi rilievi* found there it might be possible to design a structure somewhat resembling the Tabernacle of Moses. But, after all, we could never feel sure that we were not following out a false analogy, as the Tabernacle may have had its origin from some sacred tent of the Arabs of Midian or some neighbouring tribe; and, till some discovery is made that will put us in the right track, it would only be perpetuating error to attempt restoration at least in elevation. It is essential, however, for the purposes of this work that we should obtain correct dimensions of the Tabernacle both in plan and in elevation, which it is fortunately not difficult to do. Their paramount importance arises from the fact that, throughout all ages, the Jews considered the dimensions of the Tabernacle as divinely revealed to Moses. No such revelation was vouchsafed to Solomon. All he was commanded to do was to adopt, literally, the Tabernacle as his model; and this he did, merely doubling all its dimensions in order to suit them to a permanent stone building, and neither Zerubbabel nor Herod ever dared to swerve from this preordained design. As a consequence from this, the chapters in the Book of Exodus, describing the Tabernacle, are more important for our present purpose than anything recorded in the Book of Kings or of Ezra or Ezekiel. Our knowledge of the dimensions of the Tabernacle is the foundation of all we know of those of subsequent Temples, and must govern all attempts to restore them, in so far at least as their plans are concerned, though the difference of material renders the design of the Tabernacle less important for their elevations.

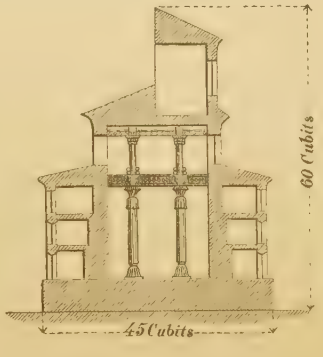
CHAPTER V.

THE TEMPLE OF SOLOMON.

ONE of the most satisfactory consequences that result from the law of development above alluded to is that, when we once have mastered the plan and dimensions of the Tabernacle, we know those of the Temple with only two necessary modifications. In order, as just mentioned, to suit it for the purpose



4.—PLAN OF SOLOMON'S TEMPLE.
(Scale, 50 feet to 1 inch.)



5.—SECTION OF SOLOMON'S TEMPLE, WITH AND WITHOUT UPPER ROOM.
(Scale, 50 feet to 1 inch.)

of a permanent building, instead of a portable one, it was deemed necessary to double all its dimensions; and to these must be added the necessary thickness of the stone walls as compared with those of canvas, which in the Tabernacle are treated as of no breadth. With these necessary alterations, the Temple was identical with the Tabernacle in all essential respects. Solomon himself, indeed, tells us as much when he says, "Thou hast commanded me to build a temple in thy holy mount, and an altar in the city wherein thou dwellest,

in remembrance of the holy tabernacle which thou hadst prepared from the beginning." [1]

The consequence of this is that, whereas we have in the Tabernacle a Holy of Holies, a cube of 10 cubits,[2] the same apartment in the Temple was a cube of 20 cubits. The Holy Place in the Tabernacle was 10 cubits broad by 20 cubits in length. In the Temple these figures were 20 by 40 cubits, and its height 30 cubits,[3] which is also exactly double the whole height of the Tabernacle. The porch in the Tabernacle was 5 cubits, in the Temple 10 cubits,[4] and so on throughout, in so far as the internal measurements are concerned; but the totals are not 40 by 80 cubits, as might at first sight be expected from this system, but, in consequence of the necessary thickness of the walls in stone construction, 45 by 90 cubits.

The section across consequently becomes—

	Cubits.
Central chambers	20
Two walls of 5 cubits each	10
Two chambers, on the lowest storey	10
Outer walls, $2\frac{1}{2}$ cubits each	5
	45 cubits.

The section west and east, in like manner, is—

	Cubits.
Outer wall on the west	$2\frac{1}{2}$
Chambers	5
Wall of inner Temple	5
Holy of Holies	20
Wall of separation	1
Holy Place	40
Wall of Temple	4
Porch	10
Outer wall of porch	$2\frac{1}{2}$[5]
	90 cubits.

What was the verandah in the Tabernacle became a series of small chambers in three storeys in the Temple. The lowest was 5 cubits wide; the next was increased by an offset in the wall to 6 and the upper chambers to 7 cubits.[6] Their height is not given in the Bible, but it hardly admits of dispute that, with the requisite thickness of their roofs, they make up the 20 or 21 cubits which

[1] Wisdom of Solomon ix. 8.

[2] 1 Kings vi. 20.

[3] 1 Kings vi. 2.

[4] 1 Kings vi. 3.

[5] The projection of 2 cubits I have given to the towers is given wholly on architectural grounds, for which there is no written or direct authority, and which, if it existed, would not be taken into account by the Jews, as a sacred measurement. If any one, however, objects to it as spoiling the numerical symmetry, they can be retrenched. They are of no importance whatever except from an architectural point of view.

[6] 1 Kings vi. 6.

are necessary to bring up their roofs to the level of that of the Holy of Holies. They could not have exceeded this, because otherwise they would have obscured the "narrow lights"[1] that gave light to the Holy Place, and were the cause of the wall of the Temple being raised there 10 cubits higher than that farther west. There was, in fact, in this part of the Temple what we would call a clerestory, which, it is easy to see, was indispensable, as light could not be introduced from the front, as in the Tabernacle, in consequence of the existence of the enclosed porch; and the precious objects placed in this chamber could not have been seen unless light was introduced in this manner.

None of those who have hitherto attempted to restore the Temple have ventured to place pillars on its floor to support the roof. It is true they are not directly mentioned in any of the descriptions we generally refer to, but, as just pointed out, neither are the central pillars in the Tabernacle, which must have been employed to support the ridge pole of that structure. No notice whatever of these constructive details of the Tabernacle is to be found anywhere, and it, consequently, is hardly to be wondered at, if we do not find any mention of these pillars in the much less detailed account of the Temple. Their existence, however, appears indispensable, in the first instance, because no cedar beams that were available could be laid across an opening 20 cubits or 30 feet free without sagging to an unpleasant extent, and it is most improbable that the Jews could construct a truss that would get over the difficulty. Besides this, it is mentioned that Solomon made pillars of "almug trees" for the House of the Lord,[2] and further that Hezekiah cut the gold from off the pillars in the House of the Lord[3] to give to the Assyrians. In addition to these arguments, it may be added that it would add very materially to the architectural effect and beauty of the interior if pillars were introduced, especially if of richly carved cedar wood, enriched with gold and heightened with colour. If they were introduced, it probably would be to divide the interior into three aisles, the centre being 8 cubits, the side aisles 6 cubits in width from centre to centre of the columns, which would be a more pleasing proportion than 5 to 10, as all the aisles were of the same height, and the distance between the columns, longitudinally, would be the same as that in a transverse direction.

The existence of these pillars rises almost to a certainty when we come to consider the furniture of the Temple as ordered by Solomon and prepared by Hiram. There were ten bases and ten lavers, ten tables and ten candlesticks, five for the one side of the house and five for the other,[4] plainly, as it appears, indicating five double spaces, each of which was supplied by one of these articles; otherwise the arrangement seems unmeaning. The great golden candlestick, the table of shewbread, with the altar of incense, probable stood in the central aisle. The

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[1] 1 Kings vi. 4. [2] 1 Kings x. 12. [3] 2 Kings xviii. 6.
[4] 1 Kings vii. 23 *et seqq.*; 2 Chron. iv. 2 and 8.

great molten sea, supported by twelve oxen, certainly stood outside in the open court of the Temple.[1] The existence, consequently, of the pillars in the interior supplies exactly the division that was wanted for the arrangement of the furniture, and gives not only meaning, but adds beauty, to the interior to such an extent that their existence hardly seems doubtful, though it may be difficult to adduce any direct authority for placing them there.

Whatever may be determined as regards the eight pillars consequently introduced into the Holy Place, and the four that are shown in the Holy of Holies, it is quite clear that the constructive necessities of the building imperatively demand the existence of two pillars in the division between these two places. More than this, if there was no upper chamber in Solomon's Temple, these must have been in stone, as they had to support a stone wall 30 feet in length by 15 feet in height, for which no wooden pillars would have sufficient strength. If there was an upper chamber, this attic may have been in wood, as it probably was in Herod's Temple, but even then such a mass without any apparent support would have been an architectural solecism altogether intolerable. Their existence consequently appears to me as certain a fact as that of the two tall pillars in the Tabernacle to support the ridge, though there is not a hint of this in any work we have access to.

In the section, pillars are introduced, adapted from the order found at Persepolis, not only because it seems that best suited to the purpose so far as we know, but also because I believe these Persepolitan pillars are merely copies of those employed at Nineveh in nearly contemporary examples,[2] and therefore probably more closely resembled these than any we can find elsewhere. A transverse beam has also been introduced at two-thirds of their height, in the first place, because such tall wooden pillars 45 feet in height could hardly stand without some such lateral tie, but also because it repeats in a pleasing manner, architecturally, the beam or entablature which supported the attic at the separation between the two apartments. Both constructively and artistically, it appears indispensable, though, like many of the minor details of the building, its existence is hardly capable of proof.

So far, therefore, as the body of the house is concerned, there seems very little margin for doubt or for discrepancy of opinion; but when we turn to the porch, its peculiarities are not so easily disposed of. Its width was internally 10 cubits east and west, by 20 cubits, "according to the breadth of the house"[3] and the thickness of the walls, whether divided as I have done or in any other manner, were certainly such as, when taken together, made up the 90 cubits required for the whole length.

Neither the height nor the external width is given in the Book of Kings, and in the Chronicles the latter dimension is given as 120 cubits,[4] which seems

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[1] 2 Chron. iv. 10. [2] Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis Restored, pp. 271 *et seqq.*
[3] 1 Kings vi. 3. [4] 2 Chron. iii. 4.

undoubtedly to be an exaggeration by duplication, though it is also that given by Josephus.[1] But Josephus so evidently exaggerates all the dimensions of Solomon's Temple—like the Book of Chronicles, by doubling them—and so frequently confounds what he knew of Herod's Temple with what he believed of Solomon's, that no reliance can be placed on his statements in this respect. In fact, the only trustworthy evidence we have on this subject is to be found in the Books of Ezra and Esdras, where it is stated—inferentially only, it must be confessed—that its dimensions were 60 cubits wide by 60 in height. These certainly were the dimensions inscribed in a rescript by Cyrus, which the Jews seem to have brought with them on their return from the Captivity; and it is most improbable, when permission was given them to rebuild their Temple, and its measurements were detailed in the edict, that these should be any other than those which the Assyrians had noted when they took Jerusalem, and which were found in the record chamber at Babylon or Ecbatana, under the circumstances detailed in the narrative.[2] It may be impossible to prove it mathematically, but everything tends to show that the edict of Cyrus was based on documents he found in the record office, and that these did describe the Temple which had existed in Jerusalem down to the Captivity. It is, besides, an extremely probable dimension. In Herod's time the Jews accomplished what to them was the triumph of architectural skill when they constructed a Temple which was 100 cubits long, 100 cubits high, and 100 cubits broad, and still was not a cube. Here they attempted the same feat with the dimension of 60 cubits, and accomplished it, except that one of these dimensions was internal in the older Temple, while they were all external in the more modern one.

At the same time, if we turn back to the section of the Temple as represented in woodcut No. 5, it is evident that, if there was an upper room to Solomon's temple—the existence of which I dare not doubt—it is evident that the height of the body of the house could not have been much less than 60 cubits. By making the roof quite flat, or the upper room a little lower, a cubit or two might have been cut off, but practically 60 cubits were so nearly needed that there seems little doubt this was the dimension attained for the body of the house. But even if we admit this, and I cannot see how it could be otherwise, it may still be asked what was the use of this lateral extension of the façade. The first answer is, for architectural effect. A façade 45 cubits wide, and 120 cubits high, would in ancient times have been considered an impossible monstrosity. One 60 cubits high, with that width, would be better, but still unbearable, while a square of 60 cubits each way might be managed easily with good effect. Another answer is that it was wanted to provide staircases to the upper apartments. If the stairs were only to accommodate the occupants of the three rows of little chambers, a much less magnificent arrangement would have sufficed, but

[1] Ant. viii. 3, 1. [2] Ezra vi. 1 *et seqq.*; 1 Esdras vi. 22 *et seqq.*

if there were "upper rooms" over the main body of the Temple, the case is different. It certainly is said in the Bible that Solomon overlaid the upper chambers with gold,[1] and this cannot be considered as applying to the little cells round the house, but must have reference to chambers either in the propylon or over the house itself; perhaps in both. As we shall see in the sequel, there were almost certainly upper chambers extending over the length and breadth of Herod's Temple, and therefore most probably over this one. Josephus is quite distinct on this subject, and if we could trust implicitly anything he says regarding Solomon's Temple, we should not need to argue the question any further. "The king," he says, "had contrived an ascent to the upper room" (ὑπερῶον οἶκον,) "of the Temple constructed in the thickness of the wall, for it had no large door at the east end, as the lower house, but was entered on each side by small doors."[2] If this was so, and I can hardly see how it can be disputed, the whole becomes easily intelligible. As, however, the walls in the upper part of the Temple were certainly not more than 2 or 3 cubits thick, the idea of a stair in them is, of course, absurd, though it is thus that the Talmud also understands it.[3] The extended façade was wanted for these stairs, and also to stop the building in the rear, which, if it had a triangular roof, may have reached a height of 60 cubits, as shown in the section; even without that, this could have been effected by raising the height of the upper room internally by a very few cubits. To all these points we shall have to return when describing Herod's Temple, which was only an enlarged copy of Solomon's; when all this will become clearer. It is only necessary to allude to it here, and judgment may for the present be left in suspense, but, according to the law of development, anything that existed in one stone temple ought to be found in all the others, and as the upper room almost certainly existed in the last, it ought also to be found in the first.

Before leaving this branch of the subject, it may be as well to point out that, if the dimensions of Solomon's Temple were as just described, they were much more pleasing architecturally than those adopted when it was rebuilt by Herod. A building 100 cubits wide, 100 cubits high, and only 100 cubits long, is necessarily stumpy, and deficient in poetry of proportion. One 60 by 60 cubits, and 90 cubits in length, is far more pleasing in proportion, and may have been a more beautiful, though a less magnificent, building; so much so, indeed, that this proportion would probably have been adopted in Herod's time, were it not that there was no room for extension westward, from the nature of the cliff on which it stood, and also that there was no excuse for extending the internal sacred dimensions, which were adhered to throughout.

The little chambers that surrounded the Temple, on three sides at least, have long been a stumbling-block to restorers. Nothing like them is known to have existed anywhere except in the Birs Nimroud,[4] and there the analogy

[1] 2 Chron. iii. 9. [2] Ant. viii. 3, 2. [3] Middoth iv. 5.
[4] See my History of Architecture, last edition, vol. i. p. 153, woodcut 48.

is far from perfect; and neither their use nor their number is anywhere specified with sufficient exactness to obviate difficulties. Generally it is assumed they were ninety in number, ranged in three storeys of thirty each, but on very insufficient authority, as it appears to me. Their number is not given either in the Books of Kings or Chronicles; and in Ezekiel it is merely said that they were in three storeys and thirty in order[1] (query altogether), and they are called side chambers, as if they did not exist at either end. They certainly did not on the east. In fact, the only really distinct description we have of them is in the Talmud, which specifies, in apparent accordance with Ezekiel, fifteen only on each side, and eight at the west end, making thirty-eight in all.[2]

Josephus' account, which is that which has been generally followed, is far from being distinct. He first states that the chambers were thirty in number,[3] and then gives their measurements—5 cubits in breadth, as many in length, but 20 cubits in height.[4] The last dimension is undoubtedly that of the three storeys together; and if erroneous, so may the second one be, which is that which involves the necessity for the ninety. In the description of the Temple in the 'Wars of the Jews' he merely says there were a great many of them, and repeats his error that they were each 20 cubits high, making altogether 60 cubits.[5] Everything, however, that Josephus says about Solomon's Temple is so unsatisfactory that we must fall back on the account in the Talmud, which is the only one that is consistent with commonsense. A series of ninety little rooms, 5 or 6 cubits square —7½ or 9 feet—and about the same in height, and each having a thoroughfare, is an arrangement that would not be tolerated in our meanest prisons, and as residences for priests it would be impossible. If, however, they were 12 or 15 cubits in length, the case would be different; and this seems to be the least dimension that is admissible. Even then the gallery or verandah that was introduced in subsequent Temples would have been required to render them fit for their purposes. In Solomon's time the architects seem to have been more bent on copying literally the forms of the Tabernacle than on adapting the new building to the uses to which, under the altered circumstances of the case, it was to be applied. On the whole, my impression is that it is much more probable that there were only thirty chambers—three storeys of five each on each side of the Temple, and eight behind—than that there were ninety little cells, which were utterly unfit for human habitations, or for any other purpose to which we can fancy they may have been appropriated.

To all these points we shall have occasion to recur again in describing Herod's Temple, and will then be in a position to understand their bearing better than we can at the present stage of the enquiry. It may consequently be expedient not to dwell longer on them at present, but to pass on to other more immediate considerations.

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[1] Ezekiel xli. 6. [2] Middoth iv. 3. [3] Ant. viii. 3, 2. [4] Ant. viii. 3, 2. [5] B. J. v. 5, 5.

It would be extremely interesting if, in addition to these facts regarding the dimensions and outline of this celebrated building, anything could be adduced that would convey an idea of the external appearance of the building or of the style of ornamentation adopted in carrying it out. I am afraid, however, that no materials exist for this at present. Looking at the plan and general arrangements, the first impulse is of course to turn to Egypt. Its plan with a great propylon at first sight does resemble the usual form of Egyptian temples; and as Solomon had married one of the daughters of the Pharaoh of that day, any apparent improbability that it was so is removed. It appears, however, that the architects of the Temple were thinking very much more of the Tabernacle, which was certainly not of Egyptian origin, than of anything on the banks of the Nile when they made their design; and the propylon may really have been only a utilitarian development, which was necessary if things were as above represented. If affinities really governed the design, I should be inclined to look for them more in the valley of the Euphrates, or among the neighbouring Semitic peoples who inhabited Tyre and Sidon, and probably some parts of Arabia. But of the architecture of these nations, we know absolutely nothing, while no Assyrian temple has yet been brought to light so nearly of Solomon's age as to afford us any hint for our guidance. When we have completed what we have to say with regard to Herod's Temple, it may be worth while to revert to the subject. At present there is nothing known that bears directly on the design, and whatever, consequently, is said must mainly be based on conjectures which can hardly be verified.

In like manner, it may be as well to postpone any attempt to unravel the mysteries connected with the pillars Jachin and Boaz till we have described the *toran* or screen, which occupied the same place in Herod's Temple which they did in Solomon's. It may suffice to state here, that my conviction is, that they were not two bronze obelisks, as is generally supposed, but two pillars supporting a screen such as exists in many temples in the East at the present day, and which, so far as we know, may have been in use in Solomon's time.

No such obelisks in metal are known to have existed in front of any temple, at any time, or in any part of the world; and unless some hints can be obtained from cognate examples, it seems hopeless to attempt to restore such objects from mere verbal descriptions, especially if these descriptions are in a language of the architectural nomenclature of which we know so little as we do of Hebrew. If some very learned scholar would take the trouble of tracing back all the terms to their roots, and comparing them with one another, something might be done. The authors of the Septuagint, however, could not do it, and, instead of giving us the corresponding words in Greek, left many of the Hebrew architectural terms untranslated, and in the original language; and what they could not do when both were living languages would certainly be very difficult now, though

probably not beyond the reach of the acumen of modern scholarship. It has not, however, so far as I know, been yet attempted.[1]

It need hardly be added that no analogies drawn from granite or stone objects of the same age are of any use in attempting to solve the problem. Solomon's pillars were in metal, and their forms must have been such as were appropriate to that material, and to that only, and consequently something very unlike either Egyptian obelisks or Grecian or even Persepolitan pillars; something, in fact, quite of a different class, and of which no examples remain to our day.

One of the great advantages, however, of the system we are pursuing is that it can be worked backwards as well as forwards. Whatever we find in Solomon's Temple, we are sure to find both in Ezekiel's and in Herod's, modified probably to some extent, but still essentially the same. In like manner, when we find any features in Herod's Temple which we can understand, but which may have been unintelligible in the earlier Temples, we may feel sure that its form and use will throw light on all that preceded it, and may possibly clear up what was otherwise inexplicable. When, consequently, we have described the vine-bearing screen in Herod's Temple, we hope to be able to throw a reflex light on even this most puzzling problem, but must, for the causes just assigned, leave the consideration of it for the present.

Courts of Solomon's Temple.

PLATE I.

From what has been said above, it seems nearly certain that the secret of the dimensions of the Temple is to be obtained quite as much from those of the Tabernacle by a system of duplication as from direct assertion; and that this was known to be so in ancient times seems evident from the fact that the writers of the Book of Chronicles carried the system a step farther, by duplicating the heights of the building and of the pillars, and making the one 120 instead of 60 cubits, and the other 35[2] instead of 18 cubits. Be this as it may, by following out the same system, we arrive at the conviction—abundantly confirmed by subsequent experience—that the court in which the Temple and altar stood measured 200 cubits east and west, by 100 cubits north and south, or just double those of the Tabernacle. At the same time, as the positions of the centre of the altar and that of the Holy of Holies were never probably altered one inch, we have no difficulty in allocating these two cardinal points in Solomon's Temple from our knowledge of their positions in Herod's, which, as will be hereafter shown, can

[1] Mr. Aldis Wright, of Trinity College, Cambridge, is, I believe, engaged in compiling a vocabulary of the Hebrew architectural terms found in the Old Testament. From his literary acumen and scholarship his work may be expected to throw considerable light on the subject. I am afraid, however, that it will not appear in time to be of any use for this work.

[2] 2 Chron. iii. 15. I do not myself believe that this 35 cubits is a duplication, or applies only to the pillars, though it certainly seems to be so stated in the Book of Chronicles; in the first place, because it is not exactly twice 18 or 36 cubits. Besides, I hope to be able to show, farther on, that 35 cubits really was the true height of the whole screen.

be fixed with almost absolute certainty. Their centres were apparently 116 or 117 cubits apart, so that, whenever we can fix the position of one of these, that of the other follows as a matter of course.

As will be explained more fully hereafter, there seems no reason for doubting that the Double Gateway, usually called that of Huldah, was identical with the Water Gate of the Temple, which led direct to the Altar.[1] Its centre line, consequently, fixed the centre of the Altar east and west; and as we have data for determining its position north and south with almost equal precision, we have a fixed point from which to start in our survey of the Temple as it was, either in Solomon's or in Herod's time. Even without this, however, it might be possible to ascertain this, at least approximately, from local indications if we knew the form of the ground in David's time, before he purchased the threshing-floor of Araunah. This, however, it is difficult to do at the present day, owing to the whole surface of the Haram area being levelled and paved, so that, without excavation, the form of the rock or of the original surface cannot be ascertained. The contour plan on next page, by Captain Warren, will, however, give an idea of the situation.[2] About halfway between the city of Jerusalem and the Mount of Olives, a tongue of land stretches towards the south. Its ridge slopes gradually to the east and west, as well as to the south, and on the north it rises at the rate of about 1 foot in 10 feet to the Sakhra, or sacred rock, which partially shelters it on the north. This being so, there is not in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem any spot so singularly appropriate for a threshing-floor as that I have marked by a shaded circle in the southern bend of the contour 2410 (woodcut No. 6). North of the sacred rock, it would have been in a hollow, and on the rock itself—where some have placed it—it was impossible. No one who has been in the East, and knows what a threshing-floor is, would dream of placing it on a rugged peak, where oxen could not tread out the corn, and where there is no flat surface for winnowing or sorting the grain. On the other hand, every requisite of a threshing-floor is found in perfection in the situation just pointed out. More than this, assuming a threshing-floor to have been there, it is the one spot about all Jerusalem most suited for the conception of an angel standing with a drawn sword to stay the plague, and where, if an altar was placed, it could be better seen than it could be in any other locality. It was looked down upon from the city on the one hand, and from the Mount of Olives on the other, and looked up to from the valleys of Kidron and the Tyropæon, and from beyond their junction at En Rogel. If there is another site, either in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem or elsewhere, commanding such advantages, I do not know it, and all that is poetic in the topography of Jerusalem has resulted from the prophetic glance with which David saw its unrivalled advantages and used them.

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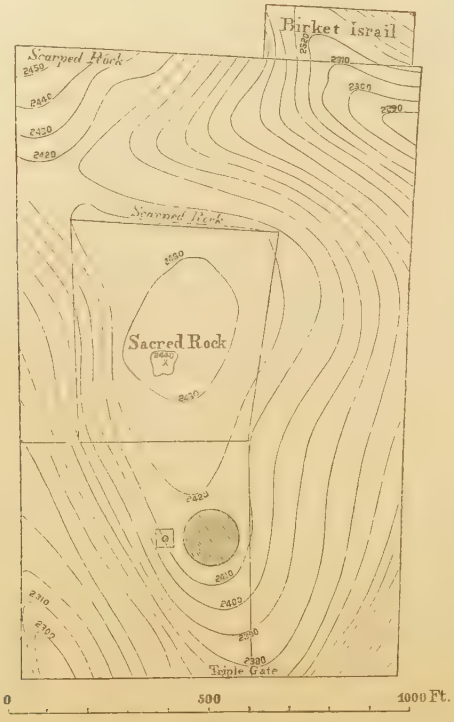
[1] Prospect of the Temple, by Dr. Lightfoot, p. 350.

[2] Recovery of Jerusalem, p. 298.

If, therefore, we knew exactly where the ridge of the hill was, we might almost with certainty say where the Altar stood. But it certainly was not where Captain Warren puts it. In his own woodcut plan,[1] which is a reduction of the Ordnance Survey, the rock rises to the surface between the contours 2419, 2429, while his 2410 in the annexed plan passes at least 10 feet below it, and the same mistake occurs where the rock rises to the surface near the Golden Gateway.



6.—IMAGINARY CONTOURS OF THE HARAM AREA. (BY Captain Warren.)

The fact seems to be—and Major Wilson agrees with me in this—that the brow is very much broader than Captain Warren makes it, and the contours towards the west are very much steeper than those shown in the last woodcut. Major Wilson's idea is that the plateau terminated in something like a cliff towards the west, and consequently that the boundary wall of the Temple originally stood nearly on the edge of a precipice.[2] Till the ground is examined by excavation,

[1] Recovery of Jerusalem, facing page 8.

[2] In his usual facetious manner, Captain Warren represents me as placing the Temple and Altar in a hole (Recovery of Jerusalem, p. 315); the fact being, however, that, according to his own contours, it is on a ridge, and at so high a level that, according to my restoration, the floor of the Temple would be several cubits above the summit of the Sakhra. Where he places it, the Sakhra would be buried so deep in a mass of masonry that it would be utterly obliterated and be neither ornamental nor useful to anybody.

this must of course be, in a great measure, speculative; but from all we now know, the centre of the southern bend of Warren's contour 4310 (4320 it ought to be) is much more likely to be on the spot marked with a square in woodcut No. 6 than in the centre of the circle. The square is about 100 feet farther west, though at the same distance from the southern wall, in the exact centre of the Huldah Gateway, which is the spot where, from the remains of Herod's Temple, we know with certainty that the Altar stood. When the contours are adjusted as just pointed out, it is beyond all dispute the one spot in the vicinity of Jerusalem that seems most likely to have been selected by David, bearing in mind that it was intended subsequently to erect the Temple to the westward of the spot first chosen for the Altar.

The arrangement of the buildings and other objects in the courts of the Temple will be easily understood from the plan, Plate I. The Temple itself practically occupied the whole of the western half of the great or inner court; its front, exclusive of the projections, being probably exactly 100 cubits from the face of the western wall. In the centre of the eastern half of this court stood the Altar, which in Solomon's time was 20 cubits square.[1] Between the Altar and the steps leading up to the porch of the Temple was a space of 30 cubits, in the centre of which stood the laver, or, as it is now called, the "brazen sea," which was 10 cubits in diameter, and supported on twelve oxen. A similar space existed to the eastward of the Altar, in the centre of which stood the *dukan*, or place of blessing—a brazen stage 5 cubits square and 3 cubits high.[2] It was from this stage that Solomon pronounced the blessing on his people,[3] and by which Joash was placed when Athaliah interfered.[4] There were not, apparently, any sacred objects in the outer court; and the disposition of its chambers and porticos will be better understood when we come to investigate the Temple as described by Ezekiel.

The only point that remains doubtful in the plan of these two courts arises from the difficulty of ascertaining whether there was a wall of separation between them, and, if so, what was its thickness. As will be seen more clearly when we come to examine the plan of Herod's Temple, the position of the Altar can be fixed with almost absolute certainty in the centre of the Huldah Gateway; so can the outer face of the eastern wall of the Temple. The distance between these two points on the Ordnance Survey is 155 or 156 cubits. The internal distance, according to our authorities, was 150 cubits; we have, consequently, 5 or 6 cubits to spare, which we may appropriate to one outer wall, or divide it into two, f 2 or 3 cubits each, or, in fact, deal with this dimension as we please. The matter is not very important; but the result I have arrived at is, that, as the level of the inner court was 10 or 12 feet

[1] 2 Chron. iv. 1. [2] 2 Chron. vi. 13. [3] 2 Chron. vi. 13. [4] 2 Kings xi. 14.

(14 steps) above that of the outer, that this was a sufficient separation, and, with a parapet of 2 or 3 feet high, a more than sufficient protection, for the Temple was not then a fortress,[1] as it became afterwards. There probably was also an open screen of columns with an ornamental gateway at the head of the flight of steps, but on the whole, most probably, not a solid wall of separation.

If these views are correct, it follows inevitably, from the data afforded by the Ordnance Survey, that this outer court was exactly 100 cubits square internally. In the Book of Kings it is called the "new court," not apparently because it was of a different age from the other, but because it was a novelty, an innovation, in fact, in the ordinance of the Tabernacle. It was, however, almost certainly built by Solomon, and on its eastern side there was a portico or porch, which bore his name down to the time of the destruction of the Temple itself by Titus.[2] In Solomon's time this court certainly was the principal entrance to the Temple, from the palace at least. It must consequently have been on this side that there was the ascent to the Temple that so astonished the Queen of Sheba, and at the top of the flight of stairs there may have been an outer gateway of proportionate magnificence.

We are nowhere told whether this outer court was more or less sacred than the inner one, but, judging from the arrangements of the subsequent Temples, it may have been that women and strangers were not admitted to the inner court, but only to this one. On the whole, however, my impression is that this exclusiveness belongs to a later date than Solomon's time, and that the men of Israel had at least access to that part of the inner court in which the Altar stood, but that a division was made across the inner court parallel to the façade of the Temple, and that all the space beyond that was the "separate place"[3] reserved for the priesthood only.

Unfortunately we have very little to guide us in trying to form an idea of the architectural arrangements of these courts. Josephus tells us nothing; and all that the Book of Kings says on the subject is that he (Solomon) built the inner court with "three rows of hewn stones and a row of cedar beams,"[4] and in the following chapter the same expression is used and applied to the great court of the palace, which is there coupled with the inner court of the Temple. This is no doubt interesting, as proving that, as there was an inner, there must have been an outer court, and leading also to the inference, as they are mentioned in the same breath, that the court of the palace was not only similar to that of the Temple, but also in all probability in juxtaposition to it. The difficulty, however, remains how to translate the expression. It certainly was not, as some have suggested, three courses of hewn stones and a course of timber laid like a wall-

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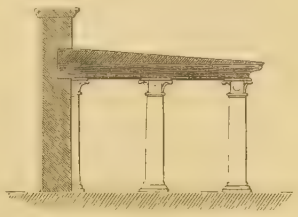
[1] Josephus, B. J. v. 5, 1.
[2] Josephus, Ant. xx. 9, 7.
[3] Ezekiel xli. 12–14; xlii. 1, 10, 13.
[4] 1 Kings vi. 36.

plate. Such a mode of building a wall is not known anywhere or at any time, and in a plain wall the number of courses is hardly of sufficient importance, unless their height was mentioned, to be recorded with such minuteness. The same expression occurs in Ezra[1] and Esdras,[2] as one of the important peculiarities of the Temple which were recorded in the archives of the treasure chamber at Ecbatana. The only explanation that occurs to me is that in this instance it means a porch supported by three rows of pillars, thus:—



7.—DIAGRAM REPRESENTING THREE ROWS OF HEWN STONES AND A ROW OF CEDAR BEAMS.

This is the more probable as we know that three sides of the outer court of Herod's Temple were surrounded by double-aisled cloisters arranged in this manner, though on a larger scale, and with pillars of the Corinthian order of his day. If this were so, it is probable that between the two courts the colonnade was open, as represented on the plan. On the other sides the inner row probably was interwoven with the outer wall like that of the great Stoa Basilica of Herod's Temple.

[1] 1 Ezra vi. 4.

[2] 1 Esdras vi. 25.

CHAPTER VI.

SOLOMON'S PALACE.

PLATE I.

IT may at first sight appear to be interrupting unnecessarily what we have to say of the successive Temples at Jerusalem to interpolate here a description of a palace. If, indeed, Solomon's palace had been situated where that of the Asamonean kings stood, in which Herod, and after him, King Agrippa, resided, this would be true, as that was placed above the Xystus in the city to the westward of the Temple, and wholly disconnected with it.[1] Recent researches, however, have gone so far to prove that the palace was situated in the south-east angle of the Haram area that this fact seems no longer doubtful. If this is so, it is evident that the Temple and the palace formed so essentially parts of one group of buildings that it will be much more convenient to treat them together than separately; and if we can acquire a correct idea of their forms, it will make what follows much clearer than it could be without first investigating them together.[2]

The fact that the Temple and palace were in immediate proximity to one another might have been inferred from a passage in Ezekiel, had attention been directed towards it: "And he said unto me, Son of man, the place of my throne, and the place of the soles of my feet, where I will dwell in the midst of the children of Israel for ever, and my holy name, shall the house of Israel no more defile, neither they nor their kings. . . . In their setting of their threshold by my thresholds, and their post by my posts, and the wall between me and them, they have even defiled my holy name."[3] A passage which seems to contain not only a distinct intimation of the contiguity of the two buildings, but a prohibition to rebuild the palace on the same site; an injunction which seems at a future period to have been literally attended to. Besides this, however, there are some passages in the Book of Nehemiah[4] which are quite unintelligible except on the assumption that the two buildings were literally parts of one design.

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[1] Jos. Ant. xv. 11, 5; xvii. 10, 2; xx. 8, 11; &c.

[2] When I wrote the article "Palace," in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, I was under the impression that Solomon's palace was in the city, and arranged the diagram that accompanied that article to suit that locality. The dimensions, in so far as they are not given in the Bible, were estimated from our knowledge of the nearly contemporary palaces of Nineveh and Khorsabad; it is consequently satisfactory to find that, though the locality was wrong, the dimensions re-arranged exactly fit the new site that has since been discovered to be the true one in the south-east angle of the Haram area.

[3] Ezekiel xliii. 7, 8.

[4] Nehemiah iii. 21–28.

The material proof that this was so, and that the south-east angle of the Haram area was one of the angles of Solomon's palace, rests mainly on the result of the excavations carried on with so much skill and energy by Captain Warren on its exterior face in 1868–9. Before these were undertaken, this angle was, it is true, one of the grandest architectural objects about Jerusalem; standing, as it does, on the edge of a steep slope, with a rise of between 50 and 60 feet above the surface, and composed of stones of the largest kind, put together with a grand and striking disregard of regularity. Still, there was nothing in its appearance that was not more than justified by the expressions used by Procopius in describing the buildings of Justinian, which certainly stood in this angle,[1] or those which Josephus used in reference to the fortifications of Agrippa, which, as certainly, enclosed, on the east, some parts of the Haram area that before lay bare.[2] But when it was discovered that the foundation stood on the rock at 80 feet below the surface of the ground, neither of these theories could be sustained. Justinian would have found some means of contracting the dimensions of his Mary Church, or of placing it farther north, rather than incur the expense involved in such a gigantic foundation, and Agrippa would, naturally, have followed the rock contour from the Triple Gateway to the Golden Gate, and could have had no object in projecting this angle to where we now find it.

Herod certainly built nothing in this angle, and we are thus reduced by a process of exhaustion to Solomon as the only historical person we know of who was at all likely to undertake such a work as this. When once it is suggested that this angle really is the "great tower that lieth out, even unto the wall of Ophel,"[3] the whole thing becomes so clear, and everything fits so exactly into its place, that we feel at once that we have a new and fixed starting-point for the topography of Jerusalem.[4] It is not easy to determine how far the masons' marks found on the lower courses of the wall and the so-called Phœnician pottery found in front of it may be used for fixing the date of these foundations. Their age seems to have been arrived at from very slender data, and if the date of the masonry depended on them alone, it might still be open to dispute. Fortunately, their evidence may almost be dispensed with. The historical and local evidence, combined with the character of the masonry, seems quite sufficient to settle the point. At the same time it is satisfactory to find that there is nothing either in the inscriptions or the pottery that at all tends to invalidate this conclusion. On the contrary,

[1] De Edificiis Just. v. 6.

[2] B. J. v. 4, 2.

[3] Nehemiah iii. 27.

[4] To Captain Warren belongs not only the credit of making the discovery, but also that of suggesting that this angle of the Haram was an angle of Solomon's palace; so that, if he had only adopted a reasonable view of the site of Herod's Temple, he might have had he credit of settling one of the most important points in the ancient topography of Jerusalem. The perversity with which, however, he adopted erroneous views on the subject of the Temple, and the vehemence with which he adheres to them, has prevented his seeing the true value of his own discoveries, and he has there lost such an opportunity as is not likely soon to recur again of acquiring a distinguished position, among the writers on Jerusalem topography.

their evidence, in so far as it goes, is a contribution towards the proof that the lower part of the masonry of this wall really is the work of Solomon. If it is so, it is all the more interesting, as it is the only fragment of his workmanship that has yet been discovered in an unaltered state in or about Jerusalem. Some parts of the western wall of the passage leading upwards from the Triple Gateway may be of his age, but if so, it has been altered and disfigured since his time to a great extent, and, even then, never was a part of the Temple, or of any building of his, we can recognise with certainty. The passage, as far as it has been explored, terminates just before it reaches the south-east angle of his Temple. South of this the foundations may be of Solomon's time, but the superstructure, as we now see it, is more probably that erected by Herod or Justinian.

If, therefore, we may assume that the south-east angle of the Haram area represents the "great tower that lieth out by the wall of Ophel," we have next to look for the tower that "lieth out from the king's high house, that was by the court of the prison."[1] This, from the context, was evidently farther north, but how far, there is nothing to indicate with certainty. The first presumption is that the north wall of the Temple was continued eastward till it met the eastern boundary of the Haram area, and that the tower stood at that angle. Curiously enough, on the outer face of the wall at that spot, M. Ganneau found an Arabic inscription, stating that, "by digging there (133 metres from the south-east angle) a great quantity of stones will be found to serve for repairs and reconstructions."[2] Evidently, some important building had existed there which had been *exploité* on some former occasion. An excavation was attempted by a Turkish officer, but it seems to have been of a very superficial character, and led to no satisfactory result.[3] All, therefore, that can be said is that the locality about halfway between the Golden Gateway and the south-east angle of the Haram meets the position where, from other indications, we should expect to find this tower or some important building in connexion with it, and, as such, it may be allowed to stand till a better is pointed out.

Assuming these two points as approximately fixed, it is easy to arrange the various parts of the palace, if not with certainty, at least in such a manner as to render them intelligible, and to enable us to follow all the events that took place within its walls without difficulty; though, of course, till the ground is excavated and explored, there must be a good deal that is hypothetical in any such restoration.

When looked at from this point of view, the first inference, both from what is said in the Bible and in the paraphrase of it in Josephus,[4] is that the Temple and the palace formed parts of one great and probably tolerably regular design. Solomon was seven years in building the first, but took thirteen to execute the

[1] Nehemiah iii. 25.
[2] Quarterly Reports, P. E. F. 1874, p. 136.
[3] Page 165.
[4] The description of the house is found in 1 Kings vii. 1–12; Jos. Ant. viii. 5, 1, 2; to which it will not be necessary to refer again.

second, the whole group of buildings most probably occupying twenty consecutive years of his reign;[1] and as these were years of great and growing prosperity, the Palace may have been as magnificent as the Temple, or even more so. Be this as it may, if they were parts of one design, the first presumption is that, if we continue the axis of the Temple eastward till it meets the Haram wall, it would be the axis of the great court, on the inner side of which was situated the house of the cedars of Lebanon, 100 cubits in length—corresponding exactly with the courts of the Temple—50 cubits in width and 30 cubits in height. This great hall was divided into three aisles by four rows of pillars, the outer one of which was interwoven with the eastern wall, as was the case with the fourth row, in the Stoa Basilica of Herod, which practically seems, *mutatis mutandis*, to have been a copy, or at least a reminiscence, of this celebrated building. The words of the text would, no doubt, bear out the interpretation that all the four rows stood free; but in that case there would have been a row in the centre, and the throne must have stood against the eastern wall. But this again is unlikely, because, had this been so, there would probably have been not fifteen, but sixteen, or some even number of columns, so as to have a central division. Besides this, their spacing is too close, only about 6 cubits, which is not sufficient for a dignified transverse vista. Altogether, I fancy the arrangement shown in the plan (Plate I.) is that which best meets the exigencies of the case, the throne being placed in the centre at the north end.[2]

Besides the house of the cedars of Lebanon, we learn from the Bible and Josephus that there were two other edifices in this court, the details and positions of which it is not very easy to make out. One of these was a porch 50 by 30 cubits, which I have placed before the entrance to the private apartments, as these are described as "within the porch,"[3] such a use being common in Eastern palaces, and seems to meet the exigencies of the description. It would be the *dewani khas*, or private audience hall, of an Indian palace. In addition to these, the Bible mentions "a porch for the throne where he might judge," and Josephus describes this as a temple (ναός), in which there was a large and glorious room in which the king sat in judgment. He describes it apparently as centred in the great hall, and as 30 cubits square, probably in the interior. Taking his text literally, this dimension applies to another building, opposite to which this ναός stood. My impression is that he has misunderstood the passage in the Bible

[1] 1 Kings vi. 38; vii. 1.

[2] In laying out the plan of these buildings of the great court on Plate I., I have neglected the line of the present wall of the Haram area. All of it that can be seen above ground is modern, beyond the first hundred feet or so from the southern angle. The old wall may have followed the same line farther north, but I think it much more likely that, beyond the limits of the dwelling courts of the palace, the buildings of the upper court should have been set out at right angles to the area of the Temple. This is, however, one of those questions that can only be settled by examination, and meanwhile is of very little importance.

[3] 1 Kings vii. 8.

which he was copying, and confounded this with the porch. In order, consequently, to meet all the difficulties, I have inserted three buildings on the plan, instead of two, though my own opinion is that Josephus has made a mistake in this respect. The central one—where I originally placed a fountain—may be omitted if any one thinks it superfluous. To me it seems just such a *chabutra*, or elevated covered platform, as one might expect to find in an Eastern palace: and the whole arrangement is so like what we find at Nineveh and Persepolis that I would allow it to stand. It seems to complete the arrangement of the upper or great public court of the palace in a manner perfectly consonant with what we know of similar buildings in the East.

In attempting to arrange the inner apartments of the palace, properly so called, I have been to a great extent guided by the remains existing on the spot; not that I believe that anything now found there above ground is of Solomon's age, but because I think it extremely likely that Justinian, when he built the arches which now occupy that angle, may have utilised the foundations of older buildings he found there. It is difficult otherwise to account for the irregularity in the spacing of his piers. Be this as it may, it results in a central court about 70 feet square, surrounded by arcades or cloisters. On the west side of this is a range of apartments perfectly suited from their situation for the reception of guests; on the east side for the *hareem*, or private apartments of the palace, and on the south a great banqueting-hall, such as that mentioned by Josephus;[1] and beyond these again is a range of apartments overlooking the country to the southward, which may well have been selected for the private residence of the sovereign himself.

The arrangements and dimensions of the palaces at Nineveh and Khorsabad confirm and justify such a disposition to the fullest extent; only that, in so far as dimensions are concerned, it must be borne in mind that in the Assyrian palaces nearly one-half of the area was occupied by the walls, in consequence of their being composed of sun-burnt brick.[2] At Jerusalem, where stone was employed, not one-tenth of the area need have been so occupied, and consequently a palace 300 feet square at Jerusalem—which is about the dimension Solomon's palace works out to—would be nearly equal in floor space to one 400 feet square in Assyria. These dimensions are therefore quite as large as I conceive we are justified in allotting to the private apartments of Solomon's palace, even allowing for its exceptional magnificence.

Besides the house built by Solomon for himself, there was another erected by him for Pharaoh's daughter, whom he had married.[3] The only hint we have to enable us to fix its situation is in Josephus, who says it was adjoining (παρεζεύκτο) "the judgment seat,"[4] and if so, can hardly have been anywhere but where I have placed it. At one time I was inclined to place it farther south, near the

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[1] Ant. viii. 5, 2. [2] Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis Restored, p. 275.
[3] 1 Kings vii. 8; 2 Chron. viii. 11. [4] Ant. viii. 5, 2.

Horse Gate, and on the west side of the inclined plane leading from the City of David to the palace; but the expression that Solomon brought her *up from* the house of David[1] implies that her dwelling must have been on the higher level of the upper court. We are not told anywhere what the dimensions of this apartment were; but there are three queens' houses at Khorsabad,[2] and they, making allowance for the extra thickness of the walls there, are about the size I have allotted to the plan of this residence. There are also three residences which the great Akbar built for his three favourite queens at Futtehpore Sicri, near Agra; these, however, are all very much smaller. Unfortunately, we have no hint as to its internal arrangements. I have consequently tried to adapt those of the Khorsabad palace to stone architecture, but, it may be, without much success. It is difficult to form any distinct idea what they may have been.

When from these indications, which are principally taken from the Books of Kings and Chronicles, combined with the description of Josephus, we turn to the third chapter of the Book of Nehemiah, we find much to confirm what has just been advanced. It will not be necessary to go into the discussion regarding the walls of the city, as that does not belong to the present subject;[3] but we may begin with the armoury, which was almost certainly situated on the north-western angle of the Temple. This we learn, as we shall presently see, from the description of Ezekiel, who places in this angle the chambers where the priests' garments and other sacred things were kept;[4] and it was at this angle that Baris and Antonia were situated, where these things were afterwards deposited. It seems, in fact, to have been a re-building of a part at least of the citadel built by David,[5] whose residence was somewhere not far from this,[6] apparently in the same relative position on the south that this occupied on the north of the Temple court. Its situation, too, described as at the "turning of the wall,"[7] is too distinct to be easily mistaken. Then follows the house of the high-priest Eliashib, which was certainly attached to the Temple, and on its north side. Next to this come other priests' houses, in front of which was the wall which was to be repaired (verses 22, 23). Then follows (verse 24) another turning of the wall, which, I take it, can only mean the north-eastern, as the other meant the north-western angle of the Temple. Next is mentioned (verse 25) "the tower which lieth out from the king's high house, that was by the court of the prison." This completes, as I understand it, what is said regarding the north side of the Temple and palace. If it could be considered as intended for a complete description of the buildings situated there, it would be unsatisfactory; not,

[1] 1 Kings ix. 24.

[2] Victor Place, Ninive et Assyrie, pl. 3. See also my History of Architecture, vol. i. woodcut 62.

[3] If I were re-writing the article in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible on the topography of Jerusalem, based on Nehemiah's description, I could now improve it in some parts, but not to such an extent as to justify the introduction of its discussion here.

[4] Ezekiel xlii. 1–14.

[5] Canticles iv. 4.

[6] Nehemiah xii. 37.

[7] Nehemiah iii. 19.

however, for anything it states, but for what it omits to mention. The fact seems to be, however, that it is only a specification of certain repairs required to be done to certain parts, and all that did not require repairing are consequently omitted. It can, however, I fancy, be found from other sources that there was a gate to the Temple on the north called the Prison Gate;[1] but why so called is by no means clear. The prison, as we have just seen, was further on, "in the king of Judah's house."[2] Even supposing the building called "the guard" can also be considered part of the prison, it is not easy to see why a gate so far from even that should bear that name. From the account of the dedication of the walls in the twelfth chapter, it seems almost inevitable that it should be exactly opposite the Water Gate, the position of which, as we shall presently see, is one of the best known localities connected with the Temple. The two parties got on the wall near the Tower of the Furnaces, which is almost certainly that now known as the Tower of David, in the citadel, exactly opposite the Temple, on the other side of the city; and on one perambulating the northern walls passed the towers of Meah and Hananeel on to the Sheep Gate, and stood still in the Prison Gate. The other party, after traversing in like manner the southern walls, went up by the stairs of the city of David, and past his house, "unto the water gate eastward." "So stood the two companies of them that gave thanks in the house of God,"[3] evidently, it appears, facing each other on the north and south sides of the altar. No mention is made of the "high gate behind the guard,"[4] which, I think, from the context, could only be situated where I have placed it.

The east side of the palace is not alluded to. It apparently required no repairs, but on the south side are a number of places, some of which we easily recognise. The first is (verse 26) the Water Gate, which, as just mentioned, is one of the localities of the Temple the position of which can be fixed with the utmost certainty. It was due south of the Altar,[5] and in the immediate proximity of a series of rock-cut tanks, now known as the Well of the Leaf, in the position shown in the plan, Plate I.

I have drawn the Water Gate with a courtyard 100 cubits square in front of it, though it must be confessed the authority for this is neither very clear nor conclusive. I cannot, however, believe that Ezekiel would have imagined a south court[6] if some such feature had not existed in Solomon's Temple. This, however, can hardly be called a court of the Temple, as it certainly was on a lower level, and no part, apparently, of the Temple itself. Another reason for its existence is that, when Ezra called the people together to read the Law to them, in front of the Water Gate,[7] it certainly was not in the "street," or thoroughfare, but in some piazza, or open space, in front of the gate. The Hebrew word *rahab*, like the πλατεῖα of the Septuagint, means width, and a "wide open space" would seem

[1] Nehemiah xii. 39. [2] Jeremiah xxxii. 2. [3] Nehemiah xii. 37, 40. [4] 2 Kings xi. 5, 6, 19.
[5] Lightfoot's Prospect of the Temple, xxiv. p. 350. [6] Ezekiel xl. 24 *et seqq.* [7] Nehemiah viii. 1, 3, 16.

a more correct translation than the "street" of our version, which rather implies length and narrowness. I fancy, too, that the stairs which led from the lower level to the higher would hardly be left exposed, unless, like those leading from the Palace, they were placed parallel to the wall, which is unlikely in this situation.

Another reason that induces me to believe in the existence of this southern enclosure or court is that the distance between it and the southern wall of the Haram, as rebuilt by Herod, is, as nearly as may be, 70 cubits or exactly the width assigned by him to the great Stoa Basilica. Nothing appears to me more probable than that, when Herod determined to erect that quasi-secular building on the south face of the Temple, he should have refrained from encroaching on any ground that had been considered sacred or part of the old Temple, and have enclosed just as much ground beyond it as was required for his new buildings. The existence or non-existence of this court is not, however, of any very great importance, and if the above evidence is not thought sufficient to establish it, it may be rejected without detriment to the general argument. I can trace no hint, except in Ezekiel, of the existence of a similar court on the north of the Temple, though there is ample room for it. It is just 110 cubits from the northern face of the Temple court, as erected in Solomon's time, to the southern face of the sustaining wall of the central platform, which was apparently the northern boundary of the Temple as rebuilt by Herod.

The Horse Gate is another locality the position of which is nearly as certain as that of the Water Gate. It may be a few yards farther north than I have placed it, but practically it is that known in the present day as the Triple Gateway, and was that by which horses came in to the king's high house,[1] from what Josephus calls the Hippodrome,[2] but which really was the royal stables.[3] Above the Horse Gate, the priests repaired every one "over against his own house" (verse 28), which clearly shows that there were priests' houses attached to the south side of the Temple, as well as to the north; but there is nothing to show whether their number or arrangement was exactly that shown in the plan or not. The other localities mentioned in these three verses (26–28) are clear enough. Ophel is well known, and is that part of the ridge leading from the Temple towards Siloam that was enclosed with walls. The position of the great tower by the wall of Ophel has already been pointed out, but there seems to have been a third tower (verse 26), which may be one situated at the south-western angle of the palace, to correspond with those at the south-eastern and north-eastern angles. Its position, however, is not very clearly indicated. From verse 29 to the end of the chapter, all the repairs mentioned are those of the wall of Ophel, and do not therefore belong to the present enquiry.

[1] 2 Kings xi. 16.

[2] B. J. ii. 3, 1.

[3] A precisely similar, inclined plane existed in the palace at Khorsabad, by which horses and chariots gained access to the upper courts of the palace, while persons on foot ascended the flights of stairs parallel to the wall, as shown in the plan to the east of the Temple. See Victor Place, *loc. sup. cit.*

There is still one locality in this neighbourhood the position of which it would be very interesting to fix if the materials existed for doing so. It is that of the house or palace of David. It was to the westward of the Water Gate, apparently outside or under the wall of the Temple or city.[1] That it was southward from the Temple, we learn, first, from the fact that Solomon brought *up* the Ark from the house of David; and, secondly, because, as before mentioned, Pharaoh's daughter came *up* out of the city of David;[2] "for he said, My wife shall not dwell in the house of David king of Israel, because the places are holy, whereunto the ark of the Lord hath come";[3] all this showing clearly enough whereabouts it was; but whether this was where I have written the name on the plan, Plate I., though without attempting to draw the plan, is by no means clear.

Mr. Lewin was, I believe, the first to point out that, wherever the Temple and the palace are spoken of at the same time, people are always said to *go up* from the palace to the Temple, and *vice versa*.[4] In so far as the two instances just quoted are concerned, that of course is the case, but they refer to the house of David, not to the palace of Solomon, and it by no means follows that these were identical or situated on the same spot. From the passages in Nehemiah just quoted, it would seem they were in two distinct localities. The difference of level, however, is equally well marked in the south-east angle of the Haram area, where I have placed the palace of Solomon. The floor of the vaults there, which I believe to be on the level of the inner court of the Temple, is, as nearly as may be, 40 feet below the level of the inner court of the Temple.[5] This I have apportioned, rightly or wrongly—one-fourth, or 10 feet, to the difference between the levels of the inner and the great courts of the palace; one-half, or 20 feet, to the difference between the great court of the Temple and that of the court of the palace; and the remaining fourth, or 10 feet, to the difference between the level of the two courts of the Temple. This last, as we shall presently see, was the difference ($7\frac{1}{2}$ cubits) in Herod's Temple, and I see no reason for believing that it was altered in the interval. This, however, is assuming that the level of the inner court of Solomon's Temple was that of the present Haram area, which is doubtful. Herod's was certainly 10 or, it may be, 12 feet higher, and we have no means of knowing whether in the earlier times it may not also have been raised slightly. Whatever difference this may make should, I fancy, be

[1] Nehemiah xii. 37.

[2] 1 Kings ix. 24.

[3] 2 Chron. viii. 11.

[4] Sketch of Jerusalem, p. 23; quoting Jeremiah xxii. 1; xxvi. 10; xxxvi. 12; 2 Chron. viii. 11; ix. 4; 1 Kings viii. 1, 4. In his map at the end of his volume, Mr. Lewin places the Temple much too far south, even on his own showing; for he overlooks the fact that, though Herod's Temple was 600 feet square, and the south wall of the Haram was the south wall of his Temple, this was not the case in Solomon's time. The courts of his Temple cannot by any ingenuity be extended so far south as the Haram boundary.

[5] Major Wilson, in his Notes, p. 37, makes the difference from the floor of the vaults to the level of the area immediately above them 38 feet 3 inches; but as the ground rises slightly towards the north and west, to admit of drainage, we may take in round numbers 40 feet for the difference between them and the site of the Altar.

distributed between the lower and upper courts of the palace,[1] for less than 20 feet will hardly do for the difference of level between the palace and the Temple, though it does not appear that more is required. It was the ascent by which Solomon went up to the house of the Lord[2] that so astonished the Queen of Sheba "that there was no more spirit in her." It is true the corresponding flight at Persepolis, which is probably the finest example of its class in the world, is only about half this in height, but its extent and the richness of its sculptures, which are the real source of its splendour, could find no place in Jerusalem, and height, therefore, in this instance is more essential for magnificence.

Assuming the palace to be arranged, in its main features at least, as indicated, we are now in a position to understand the tragedy in which Athaliah performed so important a part. The account of the disposition of the forces, which Jehoida divided into three parts, differs in the Books of Kings and Chronicles, and these differ from Josephus, but it seems evident that one-third was in the Temple, one-third at or behind the high gate or Gate of Sur, where the guard chamber was, and the remaining third in the palace.[3] When the queen, who was in the palace, heard the shouts, she rushed into the Temple, and seeing Joash on the royal stand in his robes of state, she shouted, "Treason," but they "laid hands on her; and she went by the way by the which the horses came into the king's house: and there was she slain," "by the king's house,"[4] consequently just outside the Horse Gate, on a spot that could now almost be fixed within a few yards. As for Joash, they brought him down from the house of the Lord, by the way of the "gate of the guard to the king's house," and they sat him "on the throne of the kings."[5] No doubt, at the upper end of the house of the cedars of Lebanon. All this can be easily followed on the plan, as, indeed, can all the narratives the scene of which is laid either in the palace or in the adjoining Temple.

It is, of course, hardly to be expected that anything like complete success should be attained in a first attempt to utilise recent discoveries, in forming a plan of Solomon's buildings at Jerusalem, and in protracting them on the Ordnance Survey. Still, if I am not much mistaken, the plan of them drawn on Plate I. is a considerable step in advance of anything that has been hitherto possible, and, if still far from perfect, yet enables us to understand their arrangement, and to follow the historical events narrated in the Old Testament to an extent not previously attainable.

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[1] The ramp inside the Triple Gateway ascends at the rate of about 1 foot in 15 feet, as far as it can be traced. It is blocked, however, at about 200 feet from the southern wall, and its level there is 24 feet below the present area, and probably within a foot or two of the level of the great court of the palace.

[2] 1 Kings x. 5; 2 Chron. ix. 4.

[3] The parallel passages are given by Lewin's Sketch of Jerusalem, p. 25.

[4] 2 Kings xi. 16; 2 Chron. xxiii. 15.

[5] 2 Kings xi. 19.

The points which may be considered as absolutely fixed in this plan are, first, the position in the Temple of the Altar and of the holy house itself, though the full proof of this will be better understood when we come to protract the measurements of Herod's Temple, as these are topographically much more complete than those for that of Solomon. Secondly, the size and position of the courts of the Temple are as nearly certain as anything of the sort can well be, and consequently the position of Solomon's Porch becomes a fixed point in the topography. The position of the Water Gate is another fixed point, the proof of which, however, also depends on the evidence of Herod's Temple. That of the Prison Gate is only inferred from the probability that it was opposite the Water Gate. The position of the priests' houses is also very probable, and also the existence of a southern enclosure 100 cubits square; but there seems no evidence of one on the north. In the palace, the position of the house of the cedars of Lebanon seems hardly doubtful, nor the position and general arrangements of the great court, 110 cubits square. The position of the palace properly so called, and its general dimensions, say, 200 cubits by 180, I look upon as very nearly ascertained, but what its internal arrangements may have been is quite another matter. If we may disregard all local indications, it may be anything any one pleases; but following them, as I have done, the result conforms so closely with the descriptions of Josephus, and with our general knowledge of Eastern palaces of nearly the same age, that it may be allowed to stand, till at least a better is suggested. I consider it also as almost certain that the south-eastern angle of the Haram area is an angle of "the great tower, that lies out from the king's high house to the wall of Ophel," and that the other "tower, by the court of the prison,"[1] is not far from where it is placed on the plan. The position and plans of the house of Pharaoh's daughter are matters of more uncertainty, but are not of great importance in the topography.

I am far, however, from fancying that I may not have overlooked some important passages bearing on the subject, or that I may have failed to apprehend the bearing of some indications likely to alter materially the conclusions arrived at. I feel, indeed, confident that if I could devote another month or two to the investigation, it might be improved in various minor details. But after all, the evidence is so sparse, and of so unsatisfactory a nature, that even after taking the utmost pains a great deal must be left to the imagination. Unless, indeed, some new discoveries are made, there is much about these buildings that must depend more on the knowledge and ability of the individual restorer than on anything found in ancient authors or derived from indications on the spot. Whatever may be done to it now, the plan wants to go through a second edition, and, more than this, the rectification of a second eye, by some one familiar with the spot, and willing to take the pains to wade through the scattered evidence bearing on the

[1] Nehemiah iii. 25.

subject. Meanwhile, it may probably be accepted as explaining a good deal of what was hitherto unintelligible. Its chief merit, however, will probably be found to be that it enables us to understand the position of affairs when Herod undertook to rebuild the Temple twenty-three years before the Christian era, together with the various changes he introduced into its plan and dimensions. Strange to say, we have nothing whatever to guide us as to the subsequent fate of the Palace. It was burnt at the time of the Babylonian captivity, and never afterwards rebuilt, and, as before remarked, we have no hint of how this angle of the Haram area was occupied, till Justinian erected his Mary Church on the place where Solomon's celebrated palace had stood, and had been destroyed more than eleven centuries before he reoccupied the spot.

CHAPTER VII.

SEPULCHRES OF THE KINGS OF ISRAEL.

ASSUMING, for the present at least, that the buildings of Solomon were arranged somewhat in the manner just described and shown in the plan, Plate I., it may strike some persons as strange that they should have been compressed, so to speak, into the southern portion of the Haram area, while a large vacant space, about 1000 feet square, existed to the northward of them, which, so far as present appearances go, was at least as suitable for them as the spot on which some of them were placed. It has already been pointed out (*supra*, page 35) why the threshing-floor of Araunah was placed where it was, and why it was chosen by David as the most eligible spot about Jerusalem for the erection of his altar. That being fixed, the position of the Temple behind it and that of the house of the cedars of Lebanon in front of it, followed almost, as a matter of course, on the same axis; but it is not so obvious why the private apartments of the palace were not placed to the northward instead of to the southward of this range of buildings. It seems, indeed, at first sight strange that Solomon should be at the expense of building up a solid tower 100 feet in height to support the south-eastern angle of his palace, while a more favourable site existed to the north, where no such costly foundations would be required.

There may, of course, have been fifty reasons for this, and perhaps the wisest plan would be to rest content with the knowledge that it was so, without trying to find out why things were so arranged. At this distance of time, and with our limited knowledge of the circumstances of the case, we may fairly be held excused if we cannot explain everything. Meanwhile, however, there is one circumstance that appears so certain as hardly to admit of a doubt, and to be in itself sufficient to explain the anomaly; at the same time, it is so important that it is well worth while trying to establish it before going further. It is that the greater number of the kings of Israel, from David down to the Captivity, were buried within this area, to the north of the Temple; that it was, in fact, a cemetery, the spot where were situated "the graves of the children of the people at the brook Kidron, without Jerusalem,"[1] and could not consequently be built upon. Whether it was so used by the Jebusites before the Jews got possession of the city is by no means clear. From its position with reference to Jerusalem it

[1] 2 Kings xxiii. 6.

appears probable it might have been so, but whether this was so or not, it seems certain that David was buried there, and if he was, so were most of his successors.

The fixation of the exact position of the sepulchres of the kings of Israel depends mainly—in so far, at least, as the Bible texts are concerned—on the interpretation of some passages in the 3rd chapter of the Book of Nehemiah, which have not yet been satisfactorily explained. In all that applies to the walls of the northern half of the city, there is no difficulty. The repairs commenced at the Sheep Gate, which may be a little farther from the Temple than I have placed it, but certainly in that wall. They then extended to the Tower of the Furnaces, which was either the tower that now stands in the citadel near the Jaffa Gate or one that stood on the same site. In the 13th chapter all the places mentioned in the 3rd, from this tower to the Prison Gate of the Temple, are re-enumerated, but in the reverse order, so that, though it is impossible to fix the exact distance between each, there is no difficulty as to their relative positions. On the southern division, however, the case is by no means so clear. From the Tower of the Furnaces to the Dung Gate (verse 14) all seems clear, and if we might omit the first part of the 15th verse, and assume that the wall in course of reparation was only that of the old city of the Jebusites, till we reach the 19th verse, all would be clear. But the mention of "the wall of the pool of Siloah by the king's garden" seems an interpolation. The only solution of the difficulty that occurs to me is that, after turning the corner at the southern extremity of the modern Zion, the description follows the course of the Tyropœon valley, which certainly had no wall across it at its southern extremity, though it had on either hand. It was emphatically the place "between two walls, which is by the King's garden,"[1] and it does not seem illogical to suppose that in this instance Nehemiah may have described the repairs of the walls on his right hand and on his left in alternate verses.

Be this as it may, I think there can be very little doubt "that the stairs of the city of David,"[2] above his house, were situated very nearly, even if not on the exact spot, where the causeway with stairs afterwards stood leading from the Stoa Basilica to the city, and that the part of the wall mentioned after the "stairs" in the 16th verse[3] was that on the brow over the Xystus, and consequently over against the spot where the Dome of the Rock was afterwards erected. This becomes clearer when we take together all the three objects mentioned in the 16th verse, for "the house of the mighty" could hardly be other than the house of David mentioned in connexion with these stairs in the 12th chapter (verse 37); and the pool that was made was no doubt that which was formed by Hezekiah when he "stopped the upper watercourse of Gihon, and brought it straight down to the west side of the city of David:"[4] this was certainly within the city, and was made for the purpose of supplying it with water in case of a siege. Its

[1] 2 Kings xxv. 4. [2] Nehemiah xii. 37. [3] Nehemiah iii. [4] 2 Chron. xxxii. 30.

position is further defined by a passage in Isaiah, where it is said, "Ye made also a ditch" (a reservoir) "between the two walls for the water of the old pool."[1] From all this, and a great deal more that could be said on the subject, it seems hardly doubtful that this pool was situated in the Tyropæon valley, probably on the exact axis of the Temple; and some evidences of its existence may probably be identified, among the remains found by Captain Warren in his excavations on the spot. It is possible, however, that it may have been obliterated when Herod extended the Temple area westward, as it was no doubt situated in the very lowest part of the ravine.[2]

Be all this as it may, the one thing that seems certain is, that the sepulchre of David and consequently the tombs of the kings were situated on Zion or the eastern hill. The choice, in fact, in so far as Nehemiah's evidence is concerned, lies between placing the tombs of the kings on Ophel, south of the Temple, or on the vacant space north of it. Taking the whole of the circumstances of the case into consideration, it appears that the evidence is immeasurably in favour of the northern as against the southern side.[3]

The identity of Zion with the city of David is one of those points in the topography of Jerusalem that may be considered as settled beyond dispute, and also that Zion was the Temple hill down, certainly, to the time of the Maccabees.[4] Even if it were possible to get over the distinct assertion of the Book of Samuel, that "David took the strong hold of Zion: the same is the city of David,"[5] there are fifty other passages which, taken together, prove beyond all cavil that the eastern Temple hill was known as Zion,[6] and as the true site of the city of David till at least the fourth century—possibly much later—when, in order to separate Christian from Jewish tradition, the name was transferred to the western hill, and naturally the tomb of David followed the name from which it could not be disassociated, for all who could read the Scriptures knew that he was buried "on Zion in the city of David."

Assuming this, for the present, we find that the following ten kings were buried not only in the same group of sepulchres, generally called "those of their

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[1] Isaiah xxii. 11.

[2] It is just possible, however, that this pool is one of those mentioned by the Bordeaux Pilgrim: "Sunt in Hierusalem piscinæ magnæ duæ, ad latus Templi, id est una ad dextram alia ad sinistram quas Solomon fecit." In that case the other must have been on the site of Solomon's palace, and it seems it probably was so considered in the fourth century; for in the same chapter the Pilgrim goes on to say, after describing the position of Solomon's palace with perfect correctness, as situated in the south-east angle of the Haram, "Sunt ibi et exceptuaria magna aquæ subterranea, et piscinæ magno opere ædificatæ." Tobler's edit. p. 4. It is new to us to be told that the site of Solomon's palace was turned into a tank, but still no other interpretation of the Bordeaux Pilgrim's description seems possible.

[3] In a carefully reasoned paper by the Rev. W. F. Birch, in the last number of the Quarterly Report of the P. E. F. for October 1877, the author adopts the view that David's tomb was on Ophel, south of the Temple. I cannot, however, consider his arguments as at all conclusive.

[4] 1 Maccabees iv. 37 *et seqq.* and 60; vii. 33.

[5] 2 Samuel v. 7.

[6] The question has been exhaustively treated by Thrupp in his Ancient Jerusalem, p. 21, in such a manner as to leave no doubt in my mind that the fact is beyond dispute. Mr. Lewin (Sketch of Jerusalem, p. 7) endorses Mr. Thrupp's opinion.

fathers," but that in each instance it is expressly stated that these sepulchres were situated in the city of David, viz.: David,[1] Solomon,[2] Rehoboam,[3] Asa,[4] Jehoshaphat,[5] Joram,[6] Joash,[7] Amaziah,[8] Azariah,[9] Jotham,[10] Ahaz.[11] Hezekiah was buried "in the chiefest of the sepulchres of the sons of David,"[12] and Uzziah "in the field of the burial, which belonged to the kings; for they said, He is a leper."[13] On the other hand, Manasseh was buried in the garden of his own house, in the garden of Uzza,[14] and Amon in his own sepulchre in the same place,[15] and Josiah in his own sepulchre at Jerusalem,[16] and Ahaz "in the city, even in Jerusalem," but not in the sepulchres of the kings.[17] These last four may have been buried in those sepulchres which were always known to have existed under the western boundary wall of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre,[18] and their existence there may have been the reason why that particular spot was chosen in the eleventh century for the erection of that new sepulchral church so as to give an air of probability to the imposture by showing that graves had always existed in that neighbourhood. Be this as it may, the whole tendency of the above is to show that a distinction was made between the late and bad kings, who were buried in the city of the Jebusites, and the good and great kings, who were buried on Zion, in the city of David. Other kings were buried at Samaria when they died; but the above is a complete list of all those who died at Jerusalem, and in every case the locality in which the king was buried is distinctly specified, and in the great majority of instances it is in the tombs of the kings, in the city of David, on the holy Mount Zion.

It is not quite clear whether it was because they were bad kings that the later ones were buried in the city and not in the tombs of their forefathers, or whether this arose from a growing feeling among the Jews that the proximity of the Temple was not quite the place that ought to be used for this purpose. From the language of Ezekiel it would seem that the latter was the more probable cause. One of the reforms which he seems to have hoped the Israelites would effect on their return to Jerusalem was that, besides the rebuilding of the Temple, they should "no more defile the place where God dwelt in the midst of his people, and his holy name, by the carcases of their kings in their high places," but should put away "the carcases of their kings far from him, that he might dwell among them for ever."[19]

Whether it was in consequence of this vigorous denunciation of the practice, or from some other cause, we find no further mention of any kings being buried on the eastern hill till, incidentally, we find mention made of John and his faction defending themselves from the tower Antonia, and from the northern cloister

[1] 1 Kings ii. 10.
[2] 1 Kings xi. 43.
[3] 1 Kings xiv. 31.
[4] 1 Kings xv. 24.
[5] 1 Kings xxii. 50.
[6] 2 Kings viii. 24.
[7] 2 Kings xii. 21.
[8] 2 Kings xiv. 20.
[9] 2 Kings xv. 7.
[10] 2 Kings xv. 38.
[11] 2 Kings xvi. 20.
[12] 2 Chron. xxxii. 33.
[13] 2 Chron. xxvi. 23.
[14] 2 Kings xxi. 18.
[15] 2 Kings xxi. 26.
[16] 2 Kings xxiii. 30.
[17] 2 Chron. xxviii. 27.
[18] They are carefully figured by Bernardino Amici in Trattato de sacri Edifizi, 1609, and more carefully by M. Ganneau, in the Quarterly Report of the P. E. F. for April 1877.
[19] Ezekiel xliii. 7, 9.

of the Temple, and fighting the Romans in front of the monument (μνημεῖον) of king Alexander.[1] This is sufficient to show that kings, and probably other people, were buried in the field of the sepulchres of the kings in immediate proximity of the northern wall of the Temple even after the Christian era; but there is nothing to show to what extent this prevailed, nor who the parties were who had this privilege.

What, then, and where were these celebrated sepulchres? They could hardly have been structural edifices of any great external magnificence, or they could scarcely have escaped being mentioned by Josephus or some other traveller. The pyramids of Helena of Adiabene were buildings, and are consequently mentioned by Pausanias,[2] but no one alludes to the tombs of the kings of Israel. On the other hand, those of the Herodian family are well known, under the name of Kub'r ul Mulk, to the north of Jerusalem, and as all the tombs around the city—almost without exception, so far as I know—are sepulchral caverns, the presumption certainly is that these royal sepulchres were so also. Though long disused as burying-places, their position seems to have remained well known, otherwise we should not have the story that Hyrcanus borrowed 3000 talents from the tomb of David,[3] and still less the very circumstantial account of the second robbery of the same tomb by Herod. The whole account of the adventure, as given by Josephus,[4] is intelligible, if told of a natural cavern difficult to explore, and not a regular building with chambers, or even with vaults underground. Besides this, the propitiatory monument that Herod erected at the mouth (ἐπὶ τῷ στομίῳ) of the sepulchres, could only be applied to a cavern, not to the door of a chamber. This monument was probably that subsequently known as that of Solomon, which afterwards fell, or was knocked down, in the time of Hadrian.[5] If this is so, it seems difficult to escape the conviction that the great natural cavern of which a portion is seen under the Dome of the Rock may be the identical sepulchre in which the kings of Israel from David to Hezekiah were originally laid.[6] What we now see there is a quadrangular chamber measuring 23 by 24 feet, formed by four walls of masonry, erected between the roof and floor of a large natural cavern. We know nothing of the form of the cavern itself, nor how far it may extend

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[1] Josephus, B. J. v. 7, 3; Ant. xiii. 16, 1.

[2] Græciæ descript. viii. 16. To this subject we shall have occasion to revert further on.

[3] Ant. xiii. 8, 3.

[4] Ant. xvi. 7, 1.

[5] Dio Cassius, xlix. 14, p. 1162, Hamburgii 1752.

[6] When I wrote my Topography of Jerusalem in 1847, I was willing to leave this question open for further investigation. I am absolutely convinced that the sepulchre in which Christ was laid was in this cemetery, probably in this very rock, and under the very dome, and still more absolutely convinced that the Kubbet es Sakhra is the identical church which Constantine erected over the cave which he believed to be the sepulchre of Christ. So I stated the question in 1865, in my work entitled Holy Sepulchre and Temple in Jerusalem, p. 116, and this is all I have ever contended for since, leaving the question as to whether Constantine was right or was mistaken to be determined by future investigation. I am still as convinced as ever that the "new sepulchre" was there or thereabouts, and that the dome was erected by Constantine; but subsequent investigation seems to me to make it clear that the actual cave itself, as we now know it, must be given up to the kings of Judah.

in any direction, nor how many *loculi*—if any—may be hidden by the walls that now enclose the chamber. All we do know is that it is a very similar cavern to that of Machpelah, in which Abraham and the Patriarchs are buried at Hebron, and being so, it seems very probable that David and his successors, finding a similar cave at Jerusalem, should have utilised it for the same purpose.[1]

At such a distance of time, and in a place which has undergone such vicissitudes, any tradition that may attach to any particular locality must be received with extreme caution; but it is curious to find that Solomon's sepulchre is still pointed out under the Dome of the Rock on the north side of the Sakhra, and is so marked on the Ordnance Survey. If the sepulchre of Solomon, however, is found here, *a fortiori* we ought to expect to find that of David also. Fortunately, however, as just pointed out, the Bible is too explicit about the identity of Zion and the city of David, and it is equally emphatic that his sepulchre was in the city of David. All this, indeed, was so well known, that it became indispensable, when the name Zion was, in Christian times, transferred to the western hill, that the sepulchres should go there also. In a more critical age the sepulchres of the other kings would have gone with that of David, but as the evidence is not so direct that Solomon and his successors were buried on Zion, their tombs were left where—as I have just pointed out—I believe they are now to be found.

If this is so, it is probable that the chamber under the Sakhra was built at the time it was taken possession of by the Christians, and when Constantine built his dome over it. In that case the Christians probably placed an open sarcophagus against its inner wall, which to them, in the fourth century, would appear a much more natural and appropriate mode of burial than a Jewish *loculus*. When the Mahomedans took possession of it, they, by removing this sarcophagus, at once obliterated all trace of funereal usage, and referred it to something they neither then nor now comprehended. For, as we shall afterwards see, to the present day the Mahomedans have only the very haziest ideas as to who built the mosque, when it was erected, or for what purpose.

If, however, this cave did really contain the sepulchres of David and his successors—which no longer appears to me doubtful—we have gained one great step in its history, and one that has the most important bearing on some of the most interesting points in the topography of Jerusalem.

We shall more than once have occasion to refer to this subject in the sequel, as its bearing is important on several questions connected with the topography of the city. Meanwhile, it is not only curious but interesting to observe by what a strange stroke of the irony of fate—though one singularly characteristic of the

[1] The hole in the roof of the Sakhra cave is so very similar to that in the corresponding position at Hebron that one cannot help fancying it may have been used for the same purpose, and that, as at Hebron, the rock was enclosed in a wall, and no apparent access to the tomb but by this opening. If we knew where the stairs to the tomb, if any, at Hebron were, we might settle this.

place—the two principal tombs of Jerusalem—those of David and of Christ—should both, after existing for centuries on the eastern hill, have been transferred to the western, where they are now supposed to exist. It does not, however, seem difficult to perceive how the transfer of the first took place. It was simply that when the Christians first became aware that the eastern hill was the scene of the ministration and passion of their founder, with that hatred of Jewish tradition and localities which characterised all they did at Jerusalem, they determined to clear as far as possible their holy places from all connexion with those of the previous dispensation. The Temple and its ruins they could not displace, but by calling the western hill Zion they got rid of the sepulchres of the kings, and of all the associations that made that name so sweet and musical to Jewish ears, and left the new Jerusalem as far as possible dissociated from the old. It was not then, however, nor probably till long afterwards—most likely in Moslem times—that this change of name led to its logical sequence, and a new tomb of David was erected on the new Zion, because every one who had access to the ancient scriptures of the Jews knew that David was buried on Zion, which was identical with the city of David.

The transfer of the tomb of Christ to the western hill belongs to a subsequent part of our narrative, and need not therefore be further alluded to here. That the transference did take place is as certain as anything in the topography of Jerusalem; and the motives which made it necessary are equally clear, though the circumstances under which this was effected have not yet been investigated with sufficient fulness or care to render the mode in which it was done quite clear to those who would prefer to believe that no such transference ever occurred.[1]

[1] They were stated with sufficient fulness for our present purposes in my Topography of Jerusalem, pp. 164 *et seqq.*

CHAPTER VIII.

THE TEMPLE OF EZEKIEL.

Under ordinary circumstances the Temple of the Jews, as described in the 40th and subsequent chapters of the Book of Ezekiel, ought not to have any place in a work purporting to describe the successive Temples erected by the Israelites at Jerusalem during the time that city was occupied by them. It never, in fact, had any material existence, and was neither a correct description of the Temple that was destroyed when the city was taken by the Babylonians, and its inhabitants led into captivity, nor an exact prophecy of that one which they erected after their return. What the prophet really aimed at, in writing it, seems to have been to place on record such a detailed specification of what he remembered of the old Temple as would have enabled his countrymen, if they ever returned to their native land, to re-erect it on the spot where it originally stood. If he had confined himself to this it would have been invaluable to us for our present purpose, but he added some suggestions of his own which apparently were never carried into effect. This, with the obscurity inherent in all mere verbal descriptions, have so confused the subject that it is perhaps not too much to say that, if Ezekiel's description had never been written, many points that are now considered doubtful could have been settled long ago, and others never would have been questioned. This is particularly the case with the compilers of the Talmud. Throughout that work the Rabbis show the most laudable anxiety to reconcile the statements of Ezekiel with the data furnished by those who knew the Temple as rebuilt by Herod, and had left measurements and statements regarding it on record. Had they understood what Ezekiel really did say or mean, nothing could have been better, and no difficulty would ever have arisen; but, in several important particulars, they certainly misunderstood the meaning of the prophet, and, in modern times, this has also frequently been the case. Nor, indeed, is this to be wondered at; for in addition to the difficulties above alluded to of making the form of a complicated building intelligible by mere words, this is aggravated in the instance before us by the introduction of supernatural machinery and the necessity of delivering in a prophetic form what could hardly have been made intelligible in the soberest prose. Notwithstanding all this, with the knowledge we now possess of the form and dimensions of Solomon's Temple, and, more so, of the modifications introduced by Herod, there

seems little difficulty in understanding the prophet's meaning, and in checking the extravagances sometimes ascribed to him.[1]

The description of the holy house commences with the 48th verse of the 40th chapter, where the chapters ought to be divided, and is continued throughout the 41st chapter. The specification, in length, is almost identical with that given in the Middoth[2] for Herod's Temple, except that 10 cubits are omitted for the little chambers behind the wall to the westward of the Holy of Holies. It is as follows—east and west:—

	Cubits.
Outer wall of porch	5
Porch	11
Wall of Temple	6
Holy place	40
Wall of separation	2
Holy of Holies	20
Wall of Temple	6
	90 cubits;

which is the length specified in verse 12, and is the same as that of Solomon's Temple, though differently divided. It therefore, probably, is correct, but as there were no small chambers to the westward in the prophet's Temple, the increased length of the main body of the building is made up, to the eastward, in the porch. If this were so, the specification in verse 6 must must be taken literally. There would in that case be only thirty chambers in all, fifteen on each side, arranged in three storeys, five in each. In Herod's Temple, as we shall see, we have the same depth of porch as in Ezekiel's, but 10 cubits are added behind for the little chambers, making up 100 cubits over all. It may be by an inadvertence that they are omitted here, but, on the whole, I fancy the prophet wished to adhere as exactly as possible to the dimensions of Solomon's Temple, yet thought the greater dignity to the façade of more importance than the eight little chambers behind.

The cross-section, in like manner, seems to have been:—

	Cubits.
Central chambers	20
Walls of temple, 6 × 2	12
Chambers, 4 × 2	8
Walls of chamber, 5 × 2	10
	50 cubits;

or 5 cubits in excess of Solomon's, which I believe to have been caused by the so-called outer wall of 5 cubits having been, practically, a passage or verandah

[1] One of the most marvellous misconceptions of the prophet's meaning that has been published in modern times is that proposed by the Rev. Dr. Currey to accompany his revision of Ezekiel in the Speaker's Commentary of the Bible, published in 1876. As I have already exposed what I believe to be its absurdities in an article in the Contemporary Review for May 1876, I need not do more than refer to it here, so that any one that chooses may satisfy himself regarding it.

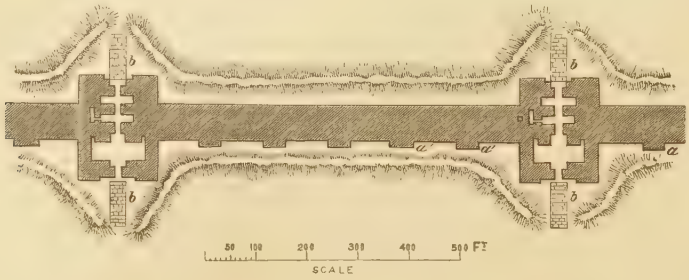
[2] Middoth, ch. iv. sect. 7.

giving access to each of the small chambers without going through each, which must have been an intolerable nuisance in Solomon's Temple. In verse 11, this passage is called the place that "was left," into which a door opened on the north for the northern chambers, and on the south for those on that side; but as no mention is made of it on the west, this is an additional proof that no chambers were intended on that side. The "separate place" which the prophet so often alludes to in this part of his description is evidently the hypæthral part of the court in which the Temple itself stood, which was 100 cubits square, and, as we might expect, was reserved for the priests alone, and separated from those parts to which the laity had access.

There is one little difficulty here which I cannot explain except on the hypothesis that east and "west" have somehow got transposed in the 12th and 14th verses. If it were not so, it would appear that the staircases leading to the little chambers were at the west end, making up the width there to 70 cubits, instead of at the east, as we have reason to suppose they were in Solomon's, making up the width of the front to 60 cubits. As the Temple itself was 5 cubits wider, it is not unnatural to suppose the façade may have been wider also; for the specification (in verse 14) states, "Also the breadth of the face of the house, and of the separate place towards the east an hundred cubits"; but how much of this belonged to the house, and how much to the separate place, we are not told. So it was also with the length east and west (verse 15). In other words—and that, in fact, is all, or nearly all, that it is essential for us to know here—the Temple as described by Ezekiel was a building measuring 90 cubits east and west by 50 cubits north and south, and probably with a façade of 70 cubits width, and, further, that it stood in a courtyard measuring 100 cubits each way.

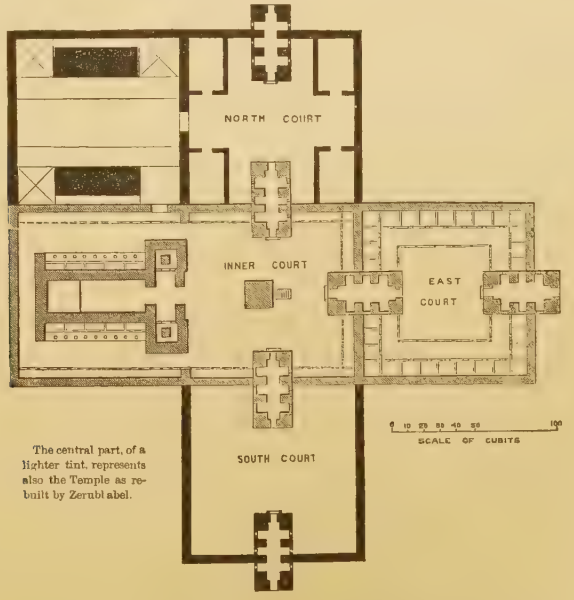
Besides this court, in which the Temple itself stood, the prophet describes in the 40th chapter four other courts, which seem certainly to have been disposed as shown in the diagram on next page (woodcut No. 9). He begins with the eastern court, and first describes its gateways, which, notwithstanding the minuteness of his details, is a puzzle not easy to solve, and is, indeed, hardly worth while spending much time upon. No such gates existed, so far as we know, in Solomon's Temple, nor in Herod's. In fact, it does not seem to have been a Jewish feature at all, but one the prophet may have seen and admired in Assyria, and one he may have thought it expedient to introduce into the Temple at Jerusalem, if it ever were rebuilt. For our present purpose it is sufficient to know that these gates were 50 cubits east and west and 25 cubits broad, and that they stood, apparently, projecting one-third outside the walls; one-third was occupied by the thickness of the walls, and of the thirty little cells that surrounded the court; and the rest projected into the court. From the face of the gate of the entrance to the face of the porch of the inner gate was 50 cubits (verse 15), while the court itself measured 100 cubits eastward and northward (verse 19). That

none of these courts were longer than 100 cubits is tolerably clear from the fact that no longer measure than 100 cubits is anywhere to be found in this description, and that with it all the measurements fit easily into their places.



8.—CITY GATEWAYS, KHORSABAD. (From Victor Place.)

The verandahs—"posts"—on each side of the gateway were 30 cubits on the right and 30 on the left—"three score" together (verse 14). The gateway was 25 cubits, and, consequently, $7\frac{1}{2}$ cubits must have been the width of the



9.—DIAGRAM PLAN OF THE TEMPLE AS DESCRIBED BY EZEKIEL.

thirty little cells, that being the length necessary to make up the 100 cubits, which were the internal dimensions of the court.

The prophet then describes five other gateways, which were identical in

form and dimensions with the one first described; two to the northern and two to the southern, as there were two to the eastern court; and all centred in the altar court, which is described in verses 39–43.

Having in the 40th chapter described these courts, he, as before mentioned, devotes the 41st to the Temple itself, and begins the 42nd with these words:—"He brought me forth into the outer court, the way toward the north: and he brought me into the chamber that was over against the *separate place*, and which was before the building" (the Temple) "toward the north;" and the next thirteen

10.—PLAN OF THE TEMPLE AND SANCTUARY AS DESCRIBED BY EZEKIEL.

verses are occupied with the description of this enclosure in the north-west angle of the other courts. It is hardly worth while trying to work out its arrangements in this place, though this could easily be done with more or less certainty. Its principal interest for us, here, is to know that it occupied the same relative position to Ezekiel's Temple that the Armoury did in Solomon's, and that it was devoted to the same purposes, viz. for keeping of the priests' garments and the utensils and furniture used in the ceremonial of the Temple, and also for the lodging of some of the servants of the Temple.

When Herod rebuilt the Temple, he rebuilt the old citadel Baris, calling it Antonia, and, as we shall afterwards see, devoted it to the same uses.

The prophet then concludes this chapter with the following words, which have been a stumbling-block to many, and a source of infinite error to most of those who have attempted to restore the Temple :—"Now when he had made an end of measuring the inner house, he brought me forth toward the gate whose prospect is toward the east, and measured it round about. He measured the east side with the measuring reed, five hundred reeds, with the measuring reed round about." And so with the north, south, and west sides, each 500 reeds, 3000 cubits, and he sums up, verse 20 :—"He measured it by the four sides: it had a wall round about, five hundred reeds long, and five hundred broad, to make a separation between the sanctuary and the profane place."[1] Evidently this had nothing to do with the Temple or its courts, which cannot by any legerdemain be stretched beyond 300 cubits each way, but was a great division of the land, including the city, and separating the just from the unjust or impure.

The Septuagint, however, translates it "cubits" instead of "reeds," and the Rabbis, in the Talmud, have adopted that translation, and hence nine-tenths of the difficulties which have arisen in the attempts to reconcile the Talmud with Josephus or with the Ordnance Survey, as we shall find as we proceed. Having adopted 500 cubits instead of the true number of 400 cubits for the external measurements of the outside of the "mountain of the house," the Rabbis had 100 cubits to dispose of, and, not knowing what better to do with them, put them into the Court of the Women, and so vitiated the whole plan and arrangement. But of this hereafter. Meanwhile, what the vision of Ezekiel practically comes to is this. He describes the Temple, properly so called, very nearly as it had been erected by Solomon, only increasing the depth of the porch, and omitting the cells behind; assuming these to have existed in the earlier Temple, which, however, is not quite clear; and he may have proposed to increase the width of the façade from 60 to 70 cubits with a corresponding height. The court in which the Temple and altar stood, he makes 200 cubits by 100 as before, and he adds a court 100 cubits square to the eastward, all which, as above stated, we have every reason to believe certainly existed in Solomon's Temple. He adds, however, a northern and southern court, each 100 cubits square. The latter of these, as above pointed out, may have been indicated in the earlier Temple, though no trace of the northern court is to be found anywhere; and he replaced the armoury of Solomon's Temple by a fifth court, making it 100 cubits square, in which, besides there being, as in the armoury, apartments devoted to the custody of the priests' garments, there were also residences for a certain number of priests.

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[1] It is not quite clear whether or not this is the wall mentioned at the beginning of the 5th verse of chapter xl. My impression is that it is, though its dimensions, 6 cubits high by the same breadth, are peculiar.

The alterations, though none of them very important, were all, doubtless, improvements; and, as none of them infringed on the Sacred measures delivered to Moses on the Mount, may have been just such as the prophet might reasonably hope to see adopted whenever the Temple was rebuilt.

The one point, however, on which it is most important to dwell, here, is that the last measurement of 500 reeds has no more to do with the dimensions of the Temple, properly so called, than those of the walls of the City of London have to do with the dimensions of St. Paul's Cathedral. This measurement belongs, in fact, to the 45th chapter, and, if I am not very much mistaken, is repeated in its second verse as the first of the divisions into which the land was to be apportioned for various administrative purposes.

CHAPTER IX.

THE TEMPLE OF ZERUBBABEL.

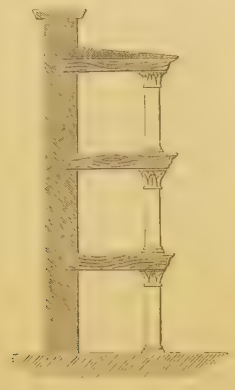
EXCEPT the passages above quoted with reference to the Temple of Solomon (*ante*, page 30), there is very little in the Bible to assist us in forming an idea of the appearance of the Temple as rebuilt after the return from the Captivity. That its façade was 60 cubits broad by 60 cubits in height seems perfectly clear; but the other dimensions we only obtain from the descriptions of the earlier Temple in the Book of Kings, or from the vision of Ezekiel. These no doubt give them with fairly approximate certainty. This, however, adds little to our knowledge beyond confirming the presumption that all the earlier Temples were as nearly as possible the same. The one new fact is, that we have both in Ezra and Esdras the same specification which we before alluded to as found in the Book of Kings,[1] that the Temple was built with "three rows of great" (or hewn) "stones, and a row of new timber."[2] In this instance, however, the description appears to apply to the body of the house itself, and not to the courts; and if so, I fancy that it refers, or was meant to refer, to the three rows of pillars or squared stones that supported the fronts of the verandahs of the cells. I am quite ready to admit that neither the Hebrew nor the Septuagint quite bears out this translation, if taken literally; but I do not doubt that the pillars did exist, and I do not know to what else the words can refer. To reconcile this theory with the text, it would be necessary to insert the words "between each," so as to make the sentence stand:—"Three rows of hewn stones, with a row or roof of timber between each." In this case the arrangement would be as shown in the diagram opposite, which would then explain the expression; but I by no means would insist on this.

Josephus is of little assistance to us here. He was so prepossessed with the idea that the dimensions of Solomon's Temple, both in extent and height, were identical with those of Herod's that he continually confounds the one with the other, so that no dependence can be placed on his statements in this respect. He knew, however, that this intermediate Temple was only 60 cubits high, and represents Herod as promising that he would add the 60 cubits that were deficient from the height of Solomon's building, and restore the original 120 cubits.[3] As we shall afterwards see, he apparently did effect this, but, in the

[1] 1 Kings vi. 36. [2] Ezra vi. 4; Esdras vi. 25. [3] Josephus xv. 11, 1.

first place, by increasing the width to 100 cubits, and probably raising the two towers only to the whole height specified.

In this dearth of information from our usual authorities, it is most fortunate that in Hecatæus of Abdera we have the testimony of an eye-witness, who not only could observe correctly, but could describe with a terseness and precision we so sadly miss in the confused rhetorical flourishes of Josephus. As there is not one of Hecatæus' statements that cannot be confirmed to a greater or less extent from independent testimony, what he says may almost always be accepted implicitly as true, and is, as such, invaluable to us in the present instance. His account is as follows:—"Near the middle of the city of Jerusalem is a stone enclosure, about 5 plethra" (or 500 feet) "in length by 100 cubits in breadth, with double gateways. Inside there is a square altar, not made of hewn, but of



11.—Diagram of Three Rows of Hewn Stones, with a Row of Cedar Beams, vertically.

rough unpolished stone, which measures 20 cubits on each side, and is 10 cubits in height. Near to it is a large temple (οἴκημα), wherein is an altar and a candlestick, both of gold, weighing two talents; and in these is a light that is never extinguished by day or by night. There is no image and no donation therein, and neither tree nor grove, nor anything of that sort. The priests reside therein, both day and night, performing certain purifications, and never drinking one drop of wine whilst they are in the Temple."[1]

The dimensions of the courts here given are exactly what we should expect from other sources. For reasons above given, we learn that the courts which Solomon built and Ezekiel saw in his vision were internally 300 cubits, or 450 feet, east and west; and, if we add to this the thickness of the walls and the probable projection of the eastern gate, we reach the length of 5 plethra, with

[1] Josephus contra Apion. i. 22.

quite sufficient accuracy for our purposes. The width, 100 cubits, is exactly what we expect—it may be said, knew—not only from this being an exact duplication of the court of the Tabernacle, but from all the other indications in the Bible.

The description of the altar and its mode of construction is also exact. So is his account of the Temple and its contents, so far as it goes, and of its furniture, and of the duties of the priests. There is not, in fact, one word in his statements that seems open to doubt, and our only regret is that his account is so brief; not that it is obscure for that reason, only our wish is that so accurate an observer had written at greater length on a subject so interesting.

The principal facts, that interest us most at present, which we learn from all this discussion, are, that only those portions of Ezekiel's Temple which are hatched in the woodcut (No. 8) were carried out after the Captivity. Those drawn in black were not even attempted. Even if a southern court was intended for Solomon's Temple, neither it nor a northern court existed in the fourth century B.C.; nothing, indeed, beyond the two simple courts of Solomon's Temple. As regards the future Temple, we know, too, exactly from Hecatæus' description what it was that Herod is said to have doubled when he rebuilt the Temple;[1] for as this earlier Temple covered only 75,000 feet (500×150), and Herod's Temple was 600 feet square, or 360,000, he not only doubled it, but made its area between four and five times as great; so that any argument derived from this source for increased dimensions of Herod's Temple is quite untenable, and could never have been put forward by any one who had studied the whole question, instead of being content with fragments, as is too frequently the case.

Our knowledge of the dimensions of this Temple is also important to us in studying the history of the wars of the Jews, for it was this Temple that Pompey attacked, and not the larger Temple afterwards constructed by Herod. In Pompey's time, as indeed ever afterwards, the Temple was most easily attacked from the north; but even on that side "there were great towers, and a ditch had been dug."[2] This ditch does not, however, seem to have been of great extent, for Pompey filled it up one Sabbath morning when the Jews had desisted from work. Its existence, however, is another proof of there being no north court on that side. The wall mentioned in this paragraph is apparently that one which, in the description of the Temple in the 'Wars of the Jews,' is said to have been broken down on the north side, in order "that so much space might be taken in as sufficed for the compass of the entire Temple."[3] On the other sides it seems to have been open, being sufficiently protected by its elevation on the west and south sides towards the city.[4]

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[1] B. J. i. 21, 1. [2] Ant. xiv. 4, 1. [3] B. J. v. 5, 1. [4] Ant. xiv. 4, 1.

There seems also to have been a ravine somewhere on the north and east sides, and Lewin, in his 'Sketch of Jerusalem,' insists strongly on the existence of the "so-called Kidron ravine" existing in this neighbourhood as contra-distinguished from the "great Kidron valley." The instances he quotes appear to me sufficient to establish the fact that Josephus believed this to be the case;[1] but it is impossible now to trace its course without excavating under the present level surface of the Haram area, and till that is done, it is of little use insisting on its existence. The only advantage we would derive from knowing its position would be to understand certain rhetorical phrases of Josephus which are now obscure from the want of that knowledge, but which, if taken only for what they are worth, have but little influence on our knowledge of the subject.

[1] Sketch of Jerusalem, 1861, pp. 206 *et seqq.*

PART II.

THE TEMPLE OF HEROD.

CHAPTER I.

EXTERNAL DIMENSIONS.

AFTER what has been said of the earlier Temples at Jerusalem, we are now in a position to ascertain, approximatively at least, the position and dimensions of that commenced by Herod nineteen years before the Christian era, and which was not only by far the most magnificent of the series, but to Christians the most interesting, as it was within its precincts that so many of the events recorded in the New Testament actually took place.

It is in the first place quite certain that the Altar in this last Temple stood on exactly the same spot originally chosen by David on the threshing-floor of Araunah, and that the Holy of Holies of Herod's Temple occupied exactly the same relative position to the Altar that it did in Solomon's; and though not so capable of direct proof, it is nearly as certain that Solomon's porch stood at the same distance eastward from the Altar in both Temples.

With these three fixed points, it only remains to ascertain what were the external dimensions of the whole building, and on this point Josephus leaves us no room for doubt or hesitation. In the 'Antiquities,' he says:—"The whole enclosure was 4 stadia in circuit, each side or angle being 1 stadium in extent."[1] He then goes on to mention the porch or the double cloisters which ornamented its eastern side, facing the gates of the Temple itself, which stood "opposite the middle of this porch," and which, he adds, had been adorned by many kings in former times. It has, however, been contended that Josephus is here speaking of Solomon's, not of Herod's Temple, but a careful study of the context dispels the idea. In his 8th book he had already described Solomon's Temple—incorrectly enough, it must be confessed—but in its right place in his history. In his 15th book he is wholly concerned with the works of Herod, and though in the chapter just referred to he does introduce an incidental allusion to Solomon's,

[1] Ant. xv. 11, 3.

it is only incidental, and ought to be put into brackets. An exact author would have made a pause, and introduced Herod's name as a nominative when he had ceased speaking of the first, and was describing the works of the latter;[1] but it is quite evident from his allusion to the many kings who had adorned Solomon's porch since his time that he is speaking of what existed in his own day, not of things as they were in Solomon's time.

A little farther on, however, in the same chapter (section 5) he makes a statement that admits of no ambiguity. After describing in minute detail the Stoa Basilica which no one doubts was the work of Herod, and of him only, he states categorically that it was one stadium or 600 feet in length. Farther on he makes a similar statement with regard to Solomon's Porch, which in the last age of the city, the Jews requested Agrippa to rebuild, and which, Josephus states, likewise measured, at that time, 400 cubits or 600 feet.[2]

In the 'Wars of the Jews,' Josephus' testimony is equally distinct, but here also, with his usual clumsiness, he expresses himself in such a manner as to admit of his plain meaning being disputed. The cloisters of the outer court, he says, "were 30 cubits in breadth, and their whole circumference, including also that of the Antonia, was 6 stadia."[3] The one question, therefore, is how much we must deduct from the 6 stadia for the circumference of the Antonia. This can only be directly ascertained when we know what the dimensions of the Antonia actually were; but I think it may safely be asserted that a building with "four great angle towers, and containing courts and baths and broad spaces for camps, and having all the conveniences that cities required, and by its magnificence seeming a palace,"[4] must have required a circumference of 2 stadia at least, and this consequently brings us back to a building the south side of which, we are distinctly told, was 1 stadium and the east side 400 cubits in length.[5] There is not, in fact, in the whole works of Josephus a single statement in which he is so consistent and persistent as this. It is true, he sometimes confounds what was done by Solomon with what was really the work of later times, though this is, under the circumstances, hardly to be wondered at; but he never deviates one inch either in excess or diminution from the statement that the Temple was a square measuring 600 feet each way. He may be right or he may be wrong, but this is his testimony.

Those whose views of the Temple area are not in accord with the statement of Josephus appeal first to the Talmud, which states the dimensions of the "mountain of the house" as 500 cubits. But this, as stated above, I believe to be entirely a misconception of the statement of Ezekiel that the boundaries of the sanctuary were 500 reeds, 3000 cubits, each way. Had the Rabbis been able

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[1] My impression is that the break ought to occur after *ἀπετείχιζεν*, and the new sentence begin with *Ἄνωθεν*, but any one may place it where he thinks best, provided it comes before the passage quoted above.

[2] Ant. xx. 9, 7. [3] B. J. v. 5, 2. [4] B. J. v. 5, 8. [5] Ant. xx. 10, 7.

to distribute the extra 100 cubits, which their reading gave them, over the whole of the courts, so as to make up a more magnificent whole, it might now have been difficult, from their point of view, to prove that they were in error. As, however, their only device was to put the whole 100 cubits into the Court of the Women, making that 135 cubits square, while the Court of the Men of Israel remained only 11 cubits wide by 135 long, the whole thing bears absurdity on the face of it, and on this ground alone might safely be rejected. Though this measurement was adopted by the Rabbis for the express purpose of reconciling the dimensions of Herod's Temple with those of the Temple described by Ezekiel, had they taken the pains of protracting what the prophet specified, they would have found out that they were directly contradicting and disproving his statements. Still more so, had they gone back to the Books of Kings and Chronicles, they would have found the dimensions they were adopting utterly irreconcilable with those there quoted. It thus happens that in their mistaken zeal to reconcile the dimensions of ancient with those of the more modern temples, they have done more to confuse the subject, and to render such reconciliation impossible, than could well be done by any literal statement of the facts as they really were, however much these might at first sight appear to differ from one another.[1]

The real and practical refutation, however, of all such theories is to be found in the Ordnance Survey, whose testimony on such matters must be considered as final, and, so far as I am capable of understanding the matter, is so, in the present instance.

Whatever other differences of opinion may exist with regard to the position or dimensions of the Temple at Jerusalem, all, I believe, are now agreed that the south-west angle of the Haram area is identical with the south-west angle of the Temple, not only because it is the only right angle of the Haram, but from the existence there of the remains of the archway known as Robinson's arch, which was undoubtedly a means of access from the city to the Temple. The style, too, of the masonry and all other indications suggest this, and it seems quite impossible to account for what we still can see except on this hypothesis. This is so generally admitted that it is hardly worth while arguing the point, and if this is so, it follows that the western wall of the Haram, as far north, at least, as the Jews' Wailing Place, is part of the west wall of the Temple; and in like manner the south wall of the Haram, as far, at least, as the Double Gateway, is identical in plan with the south wall of the Temple as rebuilt by Herod. Assuming this to be so, we further find, at the distance of exactly 600 feet from the southern

[1] I do not know any more complete *reductio ad absurdum* than the plan of the Temple just published by the Rev. Dr. Barclay, in his work entitled "The Talmud." It is avowedly based wholly on the writings of the Rabbis, quite irrespective of either Josephus or the Ordnance Survey, and is only intended to illustrate their writings. The relative importance given to the court of the *women* in this plan over those of the *men* of Israel, or even that of the priests, is, in my opinion, quite sufficient to show how mistaken the Rabbis must have been in this respect.

wall, and perfectly parallel with it, a terrace wall, now supporting the platform of the Dome of the Rock, and above that the bare rocky summit of the hill, rising now, as it always did, 20 or 21 feet above the lower platform.

In like manner, when we measure eastward from the western face of the Haram, at a distance a little less than 600 feet, the ground sinks suddenly, at the Triple Gateway, to a platform 40 feet, as before mentioned, below the level of the general surface of the intervening area. Between these two points we have a perfectly level area, measuring about 600 feet each way; perfectly solid throughout, except where pierced by two tunnel gateways, the presence of which we are led to expect, and where it is hollowed out into cisterns, which we also know did exist under the area of the Temple.[1] These latter are also important, as showing us the rock existing very near the surface, though, in consequence of the area being paved, we cannot now detect its presence on the surface, except near the north-eastern angle of this square platform.

We have, unfortunately, no means of knowing in what state the surface of the rock is under the pavement of the upper platform, and consequently no direct evidence from the Survey to prove or disprove any theory that may be advanced, except the fatal one, that the Sakhra is situated 800 feet from the southern wall; and by no possible means can any testimony, either in Josephus or the Talmud, be stretched so as to include that distance within the limits of the Temple area, provided it is admitted, which no one seems to doubt, that the southern wall of the Haram is one of the terrace walls of the platform on which the Temple stood.

One of the most common arguments used by those that wish to extend the Temple is the assertion of Josephus, that, "when Herod rebuilt the Temple, and encompassed a piece of land about it with a wall, which land was twice as large as that before enclosed";[2] but they forget to ascertain what the area of the previous Temples was. Solomon's, as already explained, measured 300 by 100 cubits, and covered, consequently, 67,500 square feet. Ezekiel's Temple, even assuming it to have been a square of 300 cubits, would even in that case cover only 202,500 square feet; but in reality it was composed of six courts of 100 cubits each, or 135,000, so that doubling that would only give 270,000, while Herod's Temple measured $600 \times 600 = 360{,}000$ square feet. What in reality he did double, as pointed out above, was the Temple described by Hecatæus (*supra*, page 68), which measured 500 feet by 150, or 75,000 square feet, so that in reality the area of Herod's Temple was between four or five times as great as that of any previous Temple which had any real existence. More than even this, it was twice as great as that dreamt of by an enthusiastic prophet languishing in captivity, and anxious for the glories of his people, who, he hoped, might one day revive the greatness of their earlier kings.

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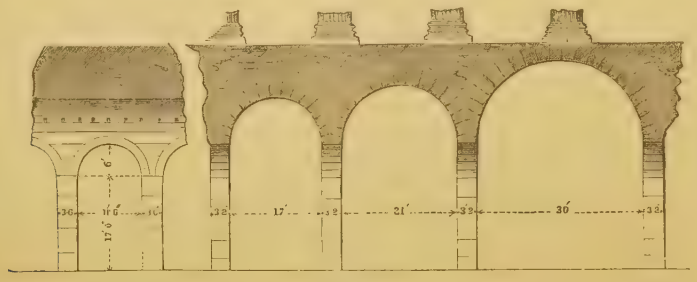
[1] Tacitus, Hist. v. 1. [2] B. J. i. 21, 1.

There seems thus no excuse for an extension north and south. Eastward, the case is even clearer, for, in addition to the arguments just adduced, the platform there, as already mentioned, sinks 40 feet below the surface of the 600 feet area just described, and nothing was apparently ever erected upon it till the depression was filled up by "weak vaults," "probably of the time of Justinian."[1] Be this as it may, it is quite certain that the Stoa Basilica, which was the most remarkable feature of Herod's Temple, never extended beyond 600 feet from the south-west angle. Had it done so, some piers or foundations must have remained to indicate how it was supported, but there is absolutely nothing, and no remains are found in the vaults that can be assigned to a building of this class. In fact, there is no point in the whole topography of Jerusalem more certain than that the Stoa Basilica of the Temple did not extend over the area of these vaults;[2] and while that is so, the boundary of the Temple to the eastward is fixed with the same certainty that it is to the southward and westward. The Ordnance Survey also indicates the position of the northern boundary, but not with the same absolute certainty. Yet if the Temple was square in figure—and this no one seems to doubt—it could not have been far from the position of the southern terrace wall of the upper platform.

[1] Warren's Underground Jerusalem, pp. 347 and 325.

[2] When I wrote the article in the Dictionary of the Bible, on the Temple, I published the annexed diagram to show how impossible it was that Herod should have erected these arches to support his great portico. Absurd as the diagram makes it appear, it really understates the case. Captain Warren, notwithstanding this and his own admission, just quoted, that they were probably of the time of Justinian, persists in believing that the Stoa Basilica extended to the eastern wall. If, however, he thinks there is anything wrong in the diagram, and can show how the pillars were supported, let him publish another and explain how this could be done. At present he simply ignores it, relying on the ignorance or carelessness of his readers, who, to save themselves trouble, are willing to believe anything that is confidently asserted by anyone they think ought to know; but a diagram is not so easily got over, and I trust therefore that Captain Warren will favour us with one. It will be more to the purpose than his arguments in the Athenæum in June and July 1875, when his theory was so completely refuted that he seems since to have tried to forget all about it.



12.—LONGITUDINAL AND TRANSVERSE SECTIONS OF THE VAULTS IN THE SOUTH-EASTERN ANGLE OF THE HARAM AREA.
(From a drawing by Arundale.)

If any insuperable difficulty were found in accommodating all the various buildings of the Temple within an area so circumscribed, we might pause before adopting these dimensions, but then it would only be to confess that the problem was insoluble, and that it was impossible to reconcile the facts disclosed by the Survey with the dimensions given in the Bible, when combined with those quoted by Josephus and the Talmud. If, however, it can be shown that there is not only room for all, but that with a larger space the difficulties of restoring the plan would be infinitely increased, this objection falls at once to the ground. On the other hand, if we take the dimensions of the solid platform as we find it in the Ordnance Survey, 600 by 585 feet, and protract on it the plan of the Temple as given by our authorities, it is found to be easy to co-ordinate the whole, and to restore the plan, at least, of the Temple with a precision that is very remarkable, considering all the vicissitudes through which it has passed. If this can be done, it is the best, and probably a sufficient, answer to those who plead for larger dimensions, and such a restoration is consequently what it is proposed to attempt in the next succeeding chapters.

CHAPTER II.

THE COURT OF THE GENTILES.

The first essential, before attempting to restore the plan of the Temple, is to ascertain what were the exact dimensions of the platform on which it stood. This, for reasons given above (page 11), is by no means so easy a task as might at first sight be supposed; but after repeated trials I have come to the conclusion that its dimensions east and west—measured from the face of the west wall a little south of the Jews' Wailing Place to the eastern face of wall running up from the Triple Gateway—were 585 feet, or 15 feet (10 cubits) less than the 600 feet ascribed to it by Josephus. North and south its dimensions are exactly 600 feet, measured from the southern face of the terrace wall supporting the platform of the Dome of the Rock to the face of the southern wall near the double gates. As, however, the northern boundary of this space must be the inner face of the north wall—if it was a wall of the Temple at all—we must add to this its thickness. This I have assumed to be 6 cubits, or 9 or 10 feet, as a probable width; its real dimensions could only be ascertained by digging, and that would not be allowed under the present régime. Instead, therefore, of an exact square 1 stadium, or 600 feet, each way, we have only, according to the Ordnance Survey, a rectangular area measuring 585 feet east and west, by 610 feet north and south; which consequently we must, for the present at least, assume to represent the external dimensions of the Temple.

It may seem a little disappointing at first sight to find the actual dimensions 15 feet less in one direction, and 10 feet more in another, than those which Josephus states so repeatedly with such apparent precision. They are, however, sufficiently near to justify a historian in making the assertion he does, but whether they do so or not is of little consequence for our present purposes. They are the dimensions to which Herod's architects had to work, and to which we consequently must adhere, in attempting to understand what they did. Even, however, if we are inclined to record this among the many proofs how little Josephus' accuracy is to be depended upon in matters of detail, it is satisfactory to find that, when looked closely into, these dimensions fit the internal arrangements of the Temple far better than those he quotes. Had the Temple area been an exact square of 600 feet each way, it would have been very difficult, if indeed it were possible, to make the external arrangements agree with the internal. As it is, they fit one another, as we hope presently to be able to show, within very narrow limits of

deviation. There may be a cubit or two in some places which may be retrenched or added, but, beyond this, nothing seems doubtful in plan. In elevation, the case may be different, but of that hereafter. Before, however, going further, it may be as well to point out that all the four angles of this platform are right angles, and its sides consequently perfectly parallel to one another, which cannot be said of any other platform hitherto suggested for the site of the Temple. Of the four angles of the Haram, that at the south-west is the only one which is really and practically rectangular.

It need hardly be remarked here that the real cause which has rendered the site of the Temple doubtful, and its restoration difficult, arises from the fulfilment of the prophecy in the Gospels.[1] It is literally a fact, that not one stone, above ground, remains upon another of that once glorious edifice: nor have we any exact means of knowing when this destruction was completed. Enough certainly remained at the time of the Moslem conquest in the seventh century to permit of the conquerors identifying its features without fail, and to enable Abd-el-Malek at the end of that century to centre his mosque on the altar of the Jewish Temple with minute exactness. At present, however, we look in vain for any feature, or any stone that can be supposed to have belonged to the Jewish Temple. Under ground, however, the case is fortunately different. There are few things in the topography of Jerusalem so certain as that the double gates under the mosque El Aksa, and the vestibule within, as far at least as the three monolithic pillars extend, with the roof over them, are really parts of the substructures of the Stoa Basilica which Herod added to the Temple. It is as certain that they represent the gate Huldah of the Talmud, which led direct to the Water Gate of the inner Temple, and thence direct to the Altar.[2] If, therefore, a line is drawn at right angles to the southern front along the line of arches that divide the passage leading north from that gateway, the first presumption is that it will point out the position of the centre of the Altar. If that line is extended farther north, it cuts the centre of a flight of steps leading to the upper platform, but not symmetrically with the Dome of the Rock, which stands there, and which may consequently mark the position of the northern gate called Teri or Tadi in the Talmud.

This presumption arises to something like certainty when we come to take the dimensions from the Ordnance Survey. As was pointed out in Chapter V. Part I., when describing Solomon's Temple, the great court was a double square, 200 by 100 cubits, in the centre of the eastern portion of which stood the Altar, and beyond this, eastward, was the "new" or "outer court," 100 cubits square, the east side of which was called Solomon's Porch.[3] The distance, therefore, from the centre of the Altar to the inner face of the wall at the back of Solomon's Porch ought to be 150 cubits, or 225 feet, plus the thickness of the wall, if any, that may

[1] Matthew xxiv. 2; Mark xiii. 2; Luke xix. 44. [2] Middoth i. 3, 4; Lightfoot, p. 350. [3] *Ante*, p. 38.

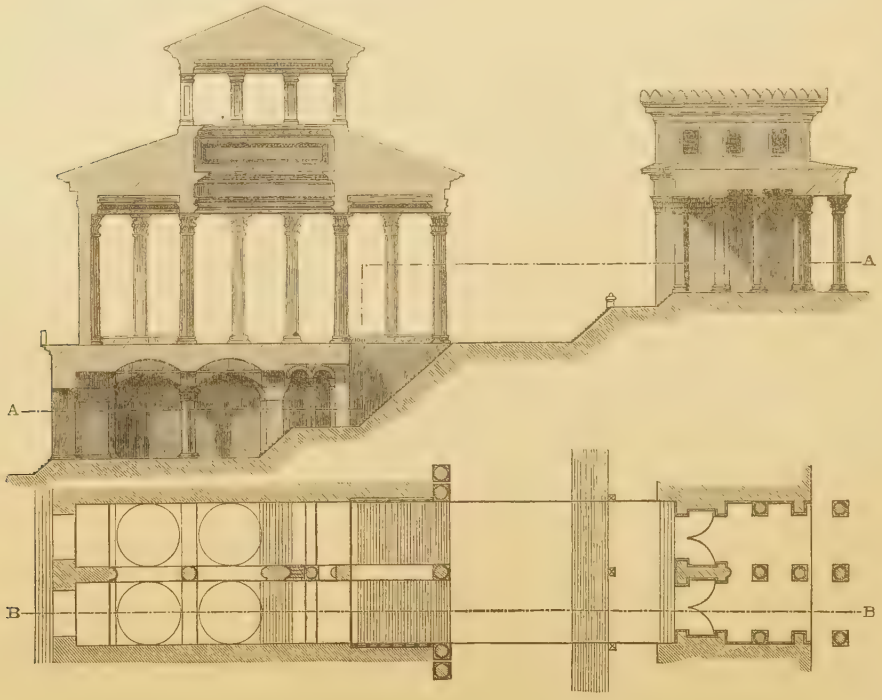
have separated the two courts. The actual dimensions taken from the Ordnance Survey, measured from the wall on the west side of the Triple Gateway to the centre of the monolith in the vestibule of the Double Gateway, which certainly belongs to Herod's Temple, are 235 or 237 feet, according as we measure from the face of the wall in the recesses or from the face of the piers. This leaves 10 or 12 feet to be apportioned between the outer wall of the Temple and the partition, if any, that existed between the two courts in Solomon's time. This is so exactly what we would expect from other sources that we may feel perfectly certain that what was here intended was to set out 150 cubits from the central point of the Altar to the inner face of the wall at the back of Solomon's Porch. This being so, it seems hardly doubtful that, if a line be drawn north and south from the centre of the monolith in the vestibule of the gate Huldah to the centre of the monolith at the top of the stairs on the north, this line will pass through the centre of the Altar, and fix its position east and west to within a very few inches, supposing the Temple to have been set out with minute accuracy, which, however, is by no means certain. It has also the advantage of giving us a base-line to which all our dimensions east and west may be referred.

Unfortunately there are no landmarks by which we can fix the centre of the Altar north and south in the same manner. That can be obtained by calculation —as we shall presently see—to within a cubit or thereabouts, probably with absolute accuracy; but the only base-line on the ground to which we can refer our measurements north and south is that drawn from the centre of the bridge —known as Robinson's arch—along the middle aisle of the Stoa Basilica. According to Wilson the south face of the arch is 39 feet from the angle of the wall, and the arch 50 feet in width.[1] Its centre, consequently, is 64 feet from the south wall. Deducting from this half the width of the centre aisle, or 22½ feet, we reach the centre of the great monolith in the vestibule, which stands at 40 or 40 feet 6 inches (27 cubits?) from the face of the outer wall, and this accords perfectly with the position of one of the pillars of the Stoa above,[2] and, so far as one instance can go, proves not only the position of the Stoa, but the accuracy of Josephus' description of the dimensions. Deducting from this the width of the southern aisle 30 feet, there remain 11·5 feet, say, 8 cubits, which, I take it, may have been made up of a wall 4 feet in thickness and a parapet of 7½ feet. The roof of this Stoa was not flat like those of the other three, nor capable of defence, and it was consequently necessary that there should be some sort of *chemin des rondes*, or parapet, on this face, on the level of the floor of the Temple from which the defence could be carried on.

[1] Notes on the Survey, by Major Wilson, p. 27.

[2] This is just one of those instances where figured dimensions would be so valuable. The two plans being superimposed, the one under ground, the other above, it is not so absolutely certain that they are so accurately engraved as when all are on the same plane, while the plan in Wilson's Notes, pl. xvi., is on too small a scale and too carelessly engraved to be of much use here. There may consequently be an error to the extent of a foot or so in this dimension, but I believe it to be very nearly correct if not quite so.

Josephus' description of the Stoa Basilica is so detailed that there is no great difficulty in understanding its general arrangements, though it requires a little ingenuity to make them fit exactly with those on the other three sides of the court. "On the south front of the Temple stood the royal cloisters with three aisles, which reached from the east valley unto the west, for it was impossible they should reach any further" [1] (westward). Passing over the absurd hyperbolical language in which he describes their height, he goes on to say :—"The



13.—Diagram Plan Section of the Stoa Basilica and Enclosure of Inner Temple, with Substructures. (Scale, 50 feet to 1 inch.)

cloisters had pillars that stood in four rows, one over against the other, all along; for the fourth row was interwoven into the wall, which was also of stone, and the diameter of each pillar was such that three men might with their arms extended fathom it round and join their hands again, while its height was 27 feet, with a double spiral at its base, and the number of pillars in that Stoa was 162. Their capitals were made with sculpture of the Corinthian order." "These four rows of pillars included three intervals for walking; two of which walks were

[1] Ant. xv. 11, 5.

similar to each other." "The breadth of each of them was 30 feet, their length was 1 stadium (600 feet), and their height 50 feet, but the breadth of the middle aisle and cloister was one and a half that of the others, and the height was double. The roofs were adorned with deep sculptures in wood, representing many sorts of figures," &c.[1]

In this description there appears to be only one thing which is a palpable mistake. If the pillars were of the Corinthian order, and only 27 feet in height, they could hardly have been even 3 feet in diameter, or more than 9 feet in circumference, and consequently two very short men could easily have joined hands round them, nor would it be possible to have eked out the order to 50 feet, as stated in the text. If we might assume that 27 cubits, or 40 feet, were meant, the whole would be intelligible, but I believe the true solution is to be found in the 'Wars of the Jews,' where the pillars—but this time apparently of the minor cloisters—are stated as 25 cubits, or 37 feet 6 inches, in height.[2] Somehow or other, these numbers seem to have got transposed, though it is difficult to see how such a mistake could have arisen. It is certain, however, that pillars that required three men to span them, and were parts of an order 50 feet in height, must have been at least 4 feet in diameter, and could hardly have been less than 40 feet in height. Those of the minor porticos on the other three sides of the Court of the Gentiles may very well have been 2 feet 8 inches to 3 feet in diameter, and 27 feet high.

With regard to the arrangement of these 162 columns, it would be sufficient for all topographical and historical purposes to assert that they were ranged in four rows, spaced 10 cubits apart from centre to centre; and that the two odd columns were employed to carry the stone entablature across the opening of the central aisle at the end of the bridge, where its width was exactly 30 cubits, or three intercolumniations. Thus thirty-nine intercolumniations would give 390 cubits, two half-columns, say 3, and the thickness of the outside walls on the east and west, say 7, or 400 cubits in all. It is nearly certain that 10 cubits was the intercolumniation aimed at, as all the transverse dimensions are multiples of 10, and in all instances are measured from the centre of one column to the centre of the next. Unless, therefore, we are allowed to assume that, though having this object in view, they could not attain it without cutting off a few inches from each intercolumniation in one direction,—which I believe to be quite inadmissible,—the result would be that, having a length of only 390 cubits to deal with, there would, according to the above scheme, be one intercolumniation, or 10 cubits, in excess, which is sufficient to render this theory of the spacing untenable.

A second difficulty is that on the east and west the cloisters were only double, so that, if the central range was in the centre, it would fall between two intercolumniations of the great Stoa. This difficulty might be obviated by dividing

[1] Ant. Jud. xv. 11, 5. [2] Bel. Jud. v. 5, 2.

the smaller porticos, unequally, into an outer aisle of 10 cubits, and an inner of 20 cubits or two intercolumniations. This, however, in a flat-roofed building, meant for defence, would be a source of weakness, which could hardly be tolerated, while it is directly contradicted by the only similar example that is known to exist. In the Temple of the Sun, at Palmyra,[1] there are four porticos surrounding the sides of a great square enclosure so similar in extent (600 feet square) and arrangement to that at Jerusalem that there seems no doubt the one was copied from the other, or from some third example which may have been the type of both. There the smaller porticos are double and equally spaced, but are joined to the greater porticos, by compound columns, a form that does not appear to have been invented in Herod's time. Even supposing, however, that they were known as early, and might consequently be introduced here, this would not obviate the necessity of equal spacing in the side cloisters, where the constructive necessities, coupled with the Palmyrene example, render its existence nearly certain. Assuming this to be so, the difficulty is easily got over by coupling some of the pillars of the great portico in the manner shown in the plan (Plate II.), a mode of treatment perfectly consonant with what is found at Palmyra, Baalbec, and elsewhere, and here introduced, I fancy, with the most pleasing effect. That some of the pillars were coupled seems evident from the mode in which the stairs ascending from the gate Huldah are introduced. According to the Ordnance Survey, the clear width of the passage between the walls is a little over 40 feet; and supposing a pillar to stand on each side of this opening, and one in the centre—as shown in woodcut No. 13—there would be two spaces for three intercolumniations, or 45 feet; but if we make the next two intercolumniations 7·5 feet from centre to centre, we resume our equal spacing without difficulty. I need hardly remark that the effect of this coupling of the pillars at the head of these stairs would be most appropriate, architecturally. Without it, there would be nothing to mark the position of the stairs externally, but leading up to the Water Gate and down to the gate Huldah, this accentuation becomes almost indispensable.

If, consequently, it is conceded that it is admissible to couple the columns where necessary, the arrangement of the others does not seem difficult. If a stone architrave was carried across the central aisle at its entrance from the bridge, the width being 45 feet, it would be indispensable that two pillars should be employed to carry it. In like manner, unless the ends of the side aisles were built up solidly, which seems to be most unlikely, they would require one pillar each to support their entablature, with the regulation width of 10 cubits, or 15 feet.

If these adjustments are admitted, you have the whole 162 columns arranged, as shown on Plate II., in the allotted space of 390 cubits east and west in a manner that appears to me eminently beautiful as an architectural design, and

[1] Wood's Palmyra, pl. iii.

except when varied for a distinct and easily recognisable object, they are in all instances exactly 10 cubits, or 15 feet, apart from centre to centre.

Notwithstanding all this, I am still far from asserting that this was *the* arrangement in all its details that was actually adopted by Herod's architects, or that some other may not now be proposed that would meet the exigencies of the case equally well; but I do assert that all the written or topographical, as well as the architectural requirements of the case, so far as they are at present known, are satisfied by the arrangement proposed; and this being so, it may be allowed to stand till some better is put forward to take its place. But whether arranged on this or any other scheme, the size of these pillars, their number, and the space over which they were spread, must have rendered this one of the most magnificent Stoas in either ancient or modern times. As I have before pointed out,[1] it may convey some idea of its dimensions if we compare it with York, the largest of our English cathedrals. If the transepts of that church were removed from the centre, and added to the ends, we should have a building of about the same length and nearly also of the same section, and, barring the style, not differing much in material and construction. In the English example, however, the church is the great and principal object of the whole design, to which all things were subordinate. At Jerusalem, the Stoa was only the vestibule or principal approach to the Temple itself, which, in the eyes of the Jews at least, surpassed it in beauty and magnificence as much as it did in height or holiness.

As this magnificent Stoa formed the principal entrance to the Temple from the city, which, according to Josephus, lay over against it like a theatre,[2] it, no doubt, was connected with it by a bridge or causeway of proportionate grandeur, but it still, strange to say, remains a mystery how this was constructed. Many years ago, Dr. Robinson observed the springing of an arch 50 feet wide at 39 feet, as already mentioned, from the south-west angle of the Haram. It was composed of stones of the largest size used in these constructions, and altogether worthy of the situation. In 1867, Captain Warren discovered the substructure of the next pier at a distance of 41·6 inches from the wall, showing that the arch was of that width, while its height, from the pavement which at one time floored it, was 70 feet.[3] Beyond this he sunk seven or eight shafts to the westward, towards the upper city, but failed to find any remains which would explain how the bridge was continued over a distance of about 280 feet before it meets the slope of the upper city. Whether this failure arose from the mode in which the investigation was conducted, or from the materials having been removed and utilised elsewhere, is by no means clear; but, from the extent to which the ground has been explored, the probability seems to be that we may

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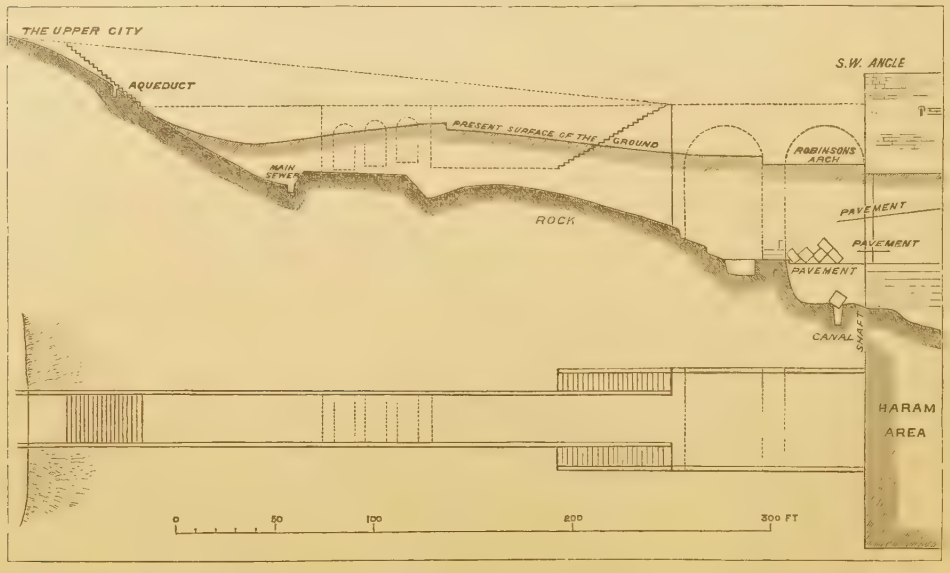
[1] The Holy Sepulchre and Temple at Jerusalem, 1865, p. 95.

[2] Ant. Jud. xv. 11, 5.

[3] Recovery of Jerusalem, pp. 94 *et seqq.*

never get material evidence of how it was constructed, while unfortunately our friend Josephus does not help us much here, as his account of the gates of the Temple on this side is by no means satisfactory. On the western side of the Temple, he says, there were four gates. The first led to the king's palace by a causeway across the intermediate valley, two led to the suburbs, and the fourth to the other city, where the road descended by many steps into the valley, thence up again by an ascent to the city, which lay over against (the Temple) like a theatre.[1]

The first of these we can have little difficulty in identifying with the causeway which still leads to the Bab as Silsilé, which is still one of the principal entrances to the Haram, and which then led through the precincts of the Turris



14.—Diagram representing the supposed Plan and Elevation of the Causeway across the Tyropæon Valley.

Antonia to the palace of the Asmonean kings above the Xystus, which was then the royal residence of Jerusalem.[2] It could not be the one that led down by many steps to the valley and up again, because in it is embedded the aqueduct that brought water, from Solomon's pools, to the Temple area, and because it was apparently close to the Xystus, where the first wall crossed the valley,[3] which it could not have done farther south than this.

If this is so, it is evident that the bridge or causeway with steps can only be that extending from the upper city to the Stoa Basilica. Still it seems inconceivable that the architects could have been so stupid, when they wanted to ascend

[1] Ant. xv. 11, 5. [2] Bel. Jud. ii. 16, 3. [3] Bel. Jud. v. 4, 2.

to the streets of a town 30 feet above the level of the Temple platform, that they should first descend 40 feet into the valley, only to reascend some 70 feet into the city. The only solution of the difficulty that occurs to me is that, after the first two arches from the Temple area—I think there is evidence of two[1]—the causeway assumed a solid form, and two flights of steps descended right and left to the valley, while the central division continued on a level or slightly rising gradient to the upper city.[2] Such an arrangement would be convenient and dignified, and as the retaining walls need not have been of any great thickness, nor composed of large stones, this may account for their disappearance. Either it may be that the central roadway was reduced to 30 feet after the first two arches, and the lateral stairs were 10 feet or 10 cubits respectively, or they may have been added altogether, and the roadway continued 50 feet broad to the upper city.

Josephus' assertion that two gates led from the Temple to Parbar, or the suburbs, on the west side of the Temple, is assumed to be incorrect, as not borne out by recent researches. Major Wilson and Captain Warren examined the whole of the western wall to such an extent as almost to prove that only one exists between the causeway (Wilson's arch) and the bridge known as Robinson's arch. I hope, however, farther on to be able to show that the fourth gate was one that led through or from the Antonia to the suburbs. Josephus certainly considered the Temple and the Antonia as parts of one great whole; so much so indeed that he comprehends both in one perimeter of 6 stadia; and there is nothing strange in his enumerating, as gates of the Temple, the four entrances that certainly existed on the west side, though one of these more properly belonged to the Antonia only. It is a point on which it is extremely unlikely he would be mistaken, and if this is not the true solution, there is little doubt another will reward further investigation. But to this we shall return presently.

The gateway that was found about 180 feet north of Robinson's arch bears generally the name of "Barclay's," from his being the first to observe it. By the Moslems it is called the Gate of Burak, and they still show the ring by which the Prophet fastened his *monture* on the night when he ascended from the Temple at Jerusalem to Paradise—a tradition of some value to our topography, because it shows that, at the time it was invented, the Mahomedans were perfectly well aware that this was the chamber nearest to the Holy of Holies of the Jewish Temple of all those which existed or exist in the Haram area.

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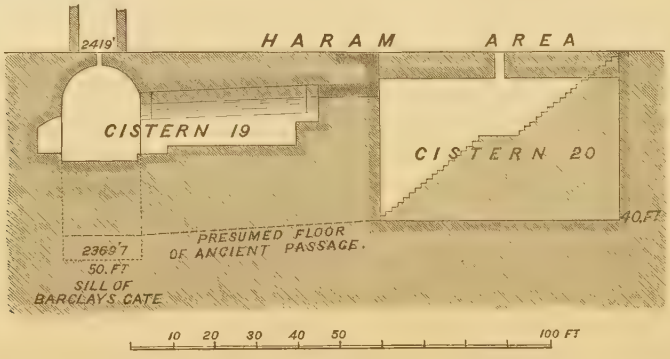
[1] Recovery of Jerusalem, p. 98.

[2] The facility with which the bridge was broken down in Pompey's time would lead to the supposition that it was then constructed of wood (B. J. i. 7, 3; Ant. xiv. 42). But this is of little importance for our present purpose. The Stoa Basilica and the ground on which it stood were first raised by Herod, and did not exist in Pompey's time. Consequently, any bridge that then existed must have been of a totally different nature from that we find now, even if erected in the same place.

[3] B. J. v. 5, 2.

This gateway is situated, as nearly as may be, halfway between what I believe to be the southern wall of the precincts of the Antonia and the great causeway leading to the Stoa Basilica; so central, indeed, to the exposed part of this face that it seems extremely improbable that a second gateway should exist in its vicinity. The sill of the gateway is 50 feet below the level of the Temple area,[1] and runs inward at right angles to the wall for about 85 feet, when it turns abruptly to the right, and partly by an inclined plane, partly apparently by steps, rose to the level of the platform area just at the angle of the inner Temple. Major Wilson is of opinion that this abrupt deflexion is owing to its meeting the rock, which, he believes, here assumes something of a cliff-like form. This, I, too, consider as extremely probable, but it also appears to me that the architectural exigencies of the case as shown in the plan, Plate II., are as



15.—SECTION NORTH AND SOUTH THROUGH BARCLAY'S GATEWAY.
(From an unpublished plate by Major Wilson.)[2]

cogent, and meet all the difficulties of the case in a most satisfactory manner. The passage went inwards till it cleared the portico of the court, and then rose to the surface in the open part of the Court of the Gentiles at a distance of 12 cubits from the front of the portico, and 7 cubits, as will presently be explained, from the Chel that surrounded the Temple on this side. The width of the passage being 11 cubits, these measurements make up the 30 cubits of the hypæthral part of this court. This disposition of the passage affords another proof—if any were wanted—that the steps leading up to the Chel were omitted on this side. There is still room for them, but the architects would hardly have left a passage of only 1 cubit between the lowest step and the opening of the rising passage—10 or 11 feet is a reasonable pathway—but the object, evidently, was to leave as much space free on the west side next the portico as could be conveniently done. Assuming the south edge of the modern cistern to represent the top step of the

[1] Recovery of Jerusalem, pp. 111 *et seqq.*

[2] The steps in cistern 20 are inserted by me.

stairs, it is exactly flush with the northern boundary of the southern Court of the Gentiles; but till this is explored more carefully, we cannot ascertain how far the steps extended downwards, or where they met the inclined plane from the north. That, however, is of comparatively little consequence; what interests us most here is to know that, like the Huldah Gateway, this one from the Parbar fits in the minutest particulars with the restoration we are now proposing, but accords with no other that has yet been attempted.

In his description of the Temple, Josephus makes no mention of any external gateway on the north side of the Temple.[1] The Rabbis, on the contrary, place the gate Tadi or Teri in the locality indicated above, as probably exactly opposite the gate Huldah. They admit, however, that it was not used for any ordinary purpose,[2] though at the end of the chapter they describe the priests going out by it on certain occasions.[3] As no mention is made of it in the siege, I fancy it must have been walled up before that time in order to strengthen the fortifications on the northern, which seems always to have been the weakest and most vulnerable, side of the Temple.[4] Had it been a gateway of the usual form, it is hardly possible that no mention should have been made of it in the long struggles which Josephus describes as taking place in this angle between the Temple and the Antonia.

In the same manner, Josephus makes no mention of an outer gate on the eastern side of the Temple, while the Rabbis are quite positive that the gate Shushan was so situated. If they are correct in this, however, it is equally certain that they omit all mention of the gate which led from the Court of the Gentiles to the Court of the Women. This gate certainly existed, and, though inferior in size and ornament to the gate Nicanor, which led from that court to the inner court of the Temple, must have been of some importance, and, I am very much inclined to believe, was the gate Shushan, which the Rabbis have confounded with the outer gate. There can be no doubt that in Solomon's time—as above shown (Plate I.)—the principal entrance to the Temple was on the eastern face, and there was then a gateway which may have borne this name, and on the inner side of this court there was a second gate, which was then, as always, the principal and most ornamental gate of the Temple. So far as I can make it out, the confusion seems to have arisen in the minds of the Rabbis from the circumstance that, when Solomon's Court was cut in two, and one portion of it devoted to the women and the other to the Gentiles, a third gate was, or rather would have become, necessary. But as at the same time the necessity had also become

[1] In the siege of the Temple by Cestius (B. J. ii. 19, 5) a northern gate seems to be mentioned, but in such a manner as to make it doubtful whether it belonged to the outer or inner Temple. If the former, it seems to have been walled up before the siege by Titus, possibly in consequence of Cestius having penetrated through it.

[2] Middoth i. 3.

[3] Middoth i. 9.

[4] B. J. i. 17, 8; i. 7, 4; v. 7, 3.

apparent of fortifying the Temple, "which before had stood all naked except on the east side,"[1] this outer gate seems then to have been suppressed, and the name transferred to the gate between the two inner courts.

Against this view we must put the persistent assertion of the Rabbis that the red heifer was led through the gate Shushan out of the Temple and conducted across the Red Heifer Bridge to the top of the Mount of Olives and there burnt. The circumstances attending this important sacrifice are repeated by the Rabbis so often, and in such detail, that it is difficult to believe they have not some foundation in fact, though all the information we have regarding it rests wholly on their unsupported testimony.[2] There is no hint of it in the Bible or Josephus, and when not corroborated by other circumstances, anything they assert must be received with very considerable caution. If they, however, are correct, there must have been, not only an eastern outer gate to the Temple, but a bridge across the Kidron. To this we shall have occasion to return again, but meanwhile it may be remarked that one of the most inexplicable things, about the Jewish Temple, is to understand the mode by which not only the red heifers, but the whole herds of cattle there sacrificed, were got in, and their carcasses and the refuse afterwards removed. There is no hint anywhere how this was accomplished, and no one has yet, so far as I know, fairly looked the difficulty in the face. The red heifers may, however, have fairly been got out in the same manner as they were got in, even if an external gate did not exist on the eastern face. On the whole, I am inclined to think the weight of evidence is against the existence of an external eastern gate in Herod's Temple, but it is a point on which it is extremely difficult to form a decided opinion. If we knew how the south-eastern angle of the Haram area was occupied at the time of the rebuilding by Herod, we might find out; but we are absolutely without evidence, either written or topographical, on this point. Till, consequently, something new is discovered that may throw light upon it, it is to be feared we must be content to allow the decision, as to the existence of this external gateway to the eastward, to remain in suspense.

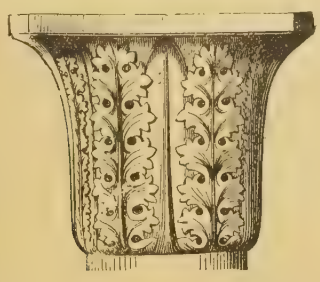
Although nothing now remains *in situ* of all these magnificent colonnades of the outer court of the Temple, there would probably be no great difficulty in restoring them architecturally, if it were worth while making the attempt. In the first place, because, of the quasi-secular character of this court, they probably were of a comparatively pure Corinthian order, without much, if any, admixture of Jewish feeling or local art; but more so, because there are a number of columns of a Corinthian order still standing in the Haram area, which originally, in all probability, belonged to these colonnades. They are now generally used as screens at the top of the various flights of steps leading to the platform on the centre of which the Dome of the Rock stands, and, as they are certainly

[1] B. J. v. 5, 1. [2] Middoth ii. 4; Lightfoot, p. 219.

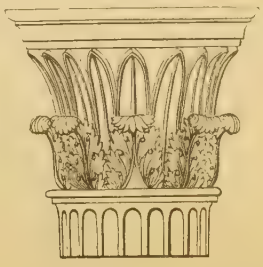
earlier than the time of Constantine, must consequently have belonged to the Herodian Temple. If they were carefully measured and drawn, we might probably be able to assign to each its place in the original building, but as that has not yet been done, we must wait yet awhile before making the attempt.

As the whole of the superstructure thus, to a great extent, must depend on conjecture, there only remains the vestibule of the southern entrance, which is certainly *in situ*, and sufficiently entire to enable us to judge of the style of architecture introduced by Herod, and employed by him in rebuilding those parts of the Temple to which he was allowed access. Even this, however, has, unfortunately, been considerably damaged by the fire that consumed the Temple at the time of its destruction by Titus, and it has also been patched and repaired by Julian, during his unsuccessful attempt to rebuild the Temple.

As it now stands, however, it is a hall measuring about 30 by 40 feet,[1] in the centre of which stands a splendid monolithic column 3 feet 6 inches in



16.—CAPITAL OF PILLAR IN VESTIBULE OF SOUTHERN ENTRANCE.



17.—CAPITAL OF ORDER OF THE TOWER OF THE WINDS, ATHENS.

diameter, and 19 feet in height,[2] with a Corinthian capital of very beautiful and, for its situation, very appropriate design. It consists of alternate acanthus and water leaves, without any volutes or any of the accompaniments of the later Corinthian order.[3] It resembles, in fact, more the order of the Tower of the Winds at Athens than any other known specimens. It is, of course, more modern, yet cannot be very far distant in age. From its summit spring four very flat arches, resting on piers or pilasters at their outer ends, and dividing the roof into four compartments, a little longer, apparently, north and south than

[1] Strange to say, no plan of the vestibule has yet been published on a sufficient scale and so detailed as to enable us to speak of its dimensions with certainty.

[2] This dimension is taken from De Vogüé's plate. Tipping, in Trail's Josephus, makes it 21 feet (p. xxv.), and others give other dimensions.

[3] Unfortunately, no very good representation of this capital exists; that given here, by Arundale, is correct as to character, but not as to the number of leaves. In this respect it is fully confirmed by De Vogüé's woodcut 34, p. 49, Le Temple de Jérusalem. Perhaps the best is that given in Renan's Mission de Phénicie, pl. xli. It is, however, far from being satisfactory. It is a mere picturesque sketch; what is wanting is a drawing by an architect, and this has not been made, or at least published, so far, at least, as I know.

in the transverse direction. Each of these, as shown above, in woodcut 13, is roofed by a low flat dome, which at one time was covered with sculpture of great beauty, and extremely interesting from its local character. The two inner domes, however, were so damaged by the fire in Titus' time[1] that their sculptures are now undistinguishable; and it is easy to see how this happened. When the burning roof of the great Stoa fell in, the heat on the open stairs (*ante*, woodcut 13), must have been sufficient to calcine all around it, and to reach the two inner domes at a distance of 20 to 30 feet. But as the draught was inwards, towards the Temple, it is probable the two outer would escape; and this is, exactly, what

18.—ONE QUADRANT OF ONE OF THE DOMES IN THE VESTIBULE OF THE GATE HULDAH.
(From a drawing by M. de Saulcy.)

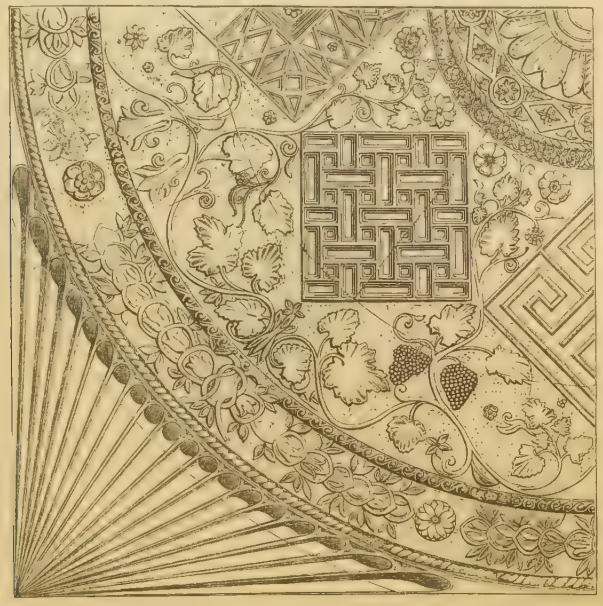
has happened, and forms one of many evidences that the restoration now proposed cannot be far from the truth.

The ornamentation of one of these outer domes is of a singularly elegant fluted pattern, and may have been copied almost literally from some classical example. The other is curiously unconstructive in design, and is just such a pattern as a local artist would spread over a surface the constructive necessities of which he had not completely mastered, and could not consequently express it in its ornamentation. In both, however, the vine is the principal *motivo* of the

[1] Bel. Jud. vi. 5, 2.

design, as it is in all Jewish architecture; here as elsewhere very little conventionalised, but spread among the geometric features in a singularly graceful manner. If the gates of the inner court were ornamented to the same extent as this outer one, the effect of the whole must have been such as to justify all Josephus' rhetorical flourishes; and the Temple itself must indeed have been gorgeous if this outer gate was in the subordination proper to its inferior position.

In addition to the extreme interest attaching to this vestibule as the only remaining fragment of Herod's Temple still existing, and thus giving us an



19.—One Quadrant of Dome of the Vestibule under the Aksa. (From a drawing by M. de Saulcy.)

idea of what its style of decoration may have been, it is also of great value as elucidating an unexpected incident in the general history of architecture. Just as at Rome, about the same time, we are startled at finding in the dome of Agrippa's Pantheon not only the first, but the greatest and most perfect, specimen of its class erected either before or since, so here we find the form of a pendentive dome, apparently complete, but at a much earlier age than anything hitherto known would lead us to expect. It is not clear, however, even now, whether it is a true dome in construction. It is composed of so few stones that it may be constructed, like all Indian domes, horizontally; but whether this is so or not, as domical forms had been frequently employed both in Greece and in Asia for centuries before Herod's time, we ought not to be surprised that attempts should have been made to fit them as roofs to square apartments. If

none so early as this have hitherto been discovered, this is no reason for denying their existence, and they probably will be found when looked for.[1]

One of the most regretable omissions in Josephus' description of the Temple is that he nowhere mentions the width of the hypæthral part of the Court of the Gentiles. Had he done so, the plan of the Temple would never have been a mystery. It is, however, the one important dimension for which we have no written authority, and which must consequently be obtained by calculation; and that always may be disputed, though, I think, in this instance with very little chance of success. We have above pointed out that the external dimensions of the Temple, from the Ordnance Survey, are 610 by 585 feet, and we have in Josephus' works the width of all the porticos. We thus, with the slight element of uncertainty as to the thickness of the walls, know exactly what were the external dimensions of the hypæthral part. Its inner boundary can only be known when it is ascertained what were the dimensions of the inner Temple which stood in its midst. This, as I hope presently to show, the measurements given in the Talmud enable us to do with minute accuracy, as 210 cubits square. The Rabbis, it is true, afford no assistance in fixing the dimensions of the outer court. It was not to them sacred; hardly, indeed, a part of the Temple. They call it the Mountain of the House, and it was sufficient for their purposes to quote Ezekiel's dimensions of 500 cubits square, which, as above pointed out, was a mistake; and there they leave it. With the inner Temple, however, the case was different. There the Rabbis quote every dimension—in so far as they understood them—in the most minute detail; and between their inner and Josephus' outer court, we are able to ascertain that the dimensions of the hypæthral part of the Court of the Gentiles was practically 30 cubits or 45 feet all round; and this was made up of 24 cubits from the centre of the pillars of the colonnades to the foot of the steps of the inner Temple, and 6 cubits for twelve steps of half a cubit each, which lead from the pavement of the Court of the Gentiles to the Chel or sacred platform of 10 cubits which surrounded the inner Temple on all sides.[2]

The variations from these dimensions were slight, but it is important to point them out, as a knowledge of them adds considerably to the precision of what follows. On the north they seem to have been exactly as stated, but on the

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[1] In De Vogüé's Syrie Centrale, pl. 6, he gives two specimens of a class of building which, he states, are very common in Syria. They all consist of small square apartments, surmounted by circular domes resting on an octagon, not, it is true, as in the Jerusalem instance, formed like Byzantine pendentives, but, as explained in the woodcut in p. 44, by successive contractions from an octagon to the polygon of 16, then of 32 sides, exactly as is done at the present day, and always has been done in India quite irrespective of the Byzantine invention. The date of the building illustrated in the woodcut, De Vogüé gives as 282 A.D., the others as 263, from some unascertained era. They are, however, very numerous, and some specimens may be of any age, and, if constructed in brick and ornamented in stucco, may have assumed the appearance of these Jerusalem roofs long before the invention of the true pendentives, which play so important a part in Byzantine architecture.

[2] Middoth ii. 3.

south they were 2 cubits in excess; first, because the ground falls now, and in ancient times must have fallen, to admit of surface drainage, to the extent of 1 cubit; so that there must have been then fourteen steps instead of twelve; and, curiously enough, this exactly accounts for a discrepancy between Josephus[1] and the Talmud,[2] the former stating apparently what he saw on the principal façade, the latter jotting down what they found in their books without knowing to what part the quotation applied. This accounts for 1 cubit. The other was introduced because practically the pillars of the Stoa Basilica were 1 cubit more in diameter than those of the northern and other porches. This would account for only 9 inches, but as the court was probably set out from the front of the bases, and not from the centre of the pillars, the pavement in both instances would be practically 23 cubits from the front of the lowest steps of the stairs to the bases of the columns.

On the east, the dimension was, I believe, the same, or 23 cubits, but then there were only three steps, and the Chel, for reasons to be given hereafter, was only 5 instead 10 cubits; while on the west we know that the steps were omitted altogether, first, because, as there was no opening in the wall there,[3] they were useless; and, next, we are distinctly told that John erected his engines against the west wall of the inner Temple, in consequence of his not being able to approach the other sides owing to the number of steps in front of them.[4] Another reason for the steps being omitted on this side was, as before mentioned, that the steps from the Prophet's Gate (Barclay's) occupied the greater part of the central space of the court, so that, besides being useless, they would have impeded the traffic in this direction.

Putting these dimensions together in a tabular form, we have for the southern Court of the Gentiles:—

	Cubits.	Cubits.
Wall and parapet		8
Three aisles according to Josephus		70
Hypæthral part of court	25	
Steps	7	
		32
Total for southern Court of the Gentiles		110
Chel		10
Chambers (as will be explained hereafter)		30
		150 cubits.

Northern Court of the Gentiles:—

	Cubits.	Cubits.
Portico	30	
To steps	24	
Steps	6	
		60
Chel		10
Chambers (as will be explained hereafter)		30
		100 cubits.

[1] B. J. v. 5, 2. [2] Middoth ii. 3. [3] B. J. v. 5, 2. [4] B. J. v. 2, 5.

Western Court of the Gentiles :—

	Cubits.	
Portico	30	
Hypæthral court	30	
		60
Chel		10
Thickness of western and eastern external walls .		10
		80 cubits.

Internal Dimensions of Eastern Court . . . . . 100 cubits.

If to these dimensions east and west we add the external dimensions of the inner Temple, 210 cubits, as will be presently explained, we obtain the total dimensions of the Temple east and west, thus:—

	Cubits.	
Western court, with external east and west walls	80	
Internal court over all	210	
Eastern court	100	
		390 cubits, or 535 feet.

North and south, in the same manner, we obtain :—

	Cubits.	
Northern court, with Chel and chambers. . .	100	
Internal court, from wall to wall	150	
Southern court, with Chel and chambers (as will be explained hereafter)	150	
		400 cubits, or 600 feet;
Add for thickness of northern wall	6 (?) „	„ 10 „
		406 cubits, or 610 feet;

both these being the exact dimensions we obtain from the Ordnance Survey.

It may also be remarked that the distance, as shown in the above table, from the inner face of the inner court to the southern face of the Temple, is exactly 150 cubits, or just equal to the width of the inner court itself, as we hope presently to be able to prove. The two together make up the three hundred cubits of Ezekiel's Temple, which there seems little doubt it was intended they should repeat, though differently divided. All this shows such regularity of design, and works out so satisfactorily, that it seems impossible these coincidences can be accidental. They must be component parts of a well considered design carefully worked out.

CHAPTER III.

THE INNER TEMPLE.

PLAN, PLATE II.

As might be expected, we are almost as dependent on the Talmud for the dimensions and arrangements of the inner Temple as we are on Josephus for those of the outer courts. Whether it really was that, in spite of his boasted priestly descent, Josephus was less familiar with the inner sacred precincts than he pretends to be, or from whatever cause, his description of them is marked by blunders and exaggerations that are quite intolerable. The Talmudists, on the contrary, are generally to be depended upon in so far as dimensions are concerned. The figures they quote are taken from earlier works of persons who had sufficient local knowledge to enable them to state them correctly; but the compilers of the Talmud had themselves no such knowledge, nor had they any plan, nor skill sufficient to make one, or to see how the whole fitted together, and they consequently sometimes blundered to such an extent that it requires considerable care and study to rectify their errors. Still, when all that is said by Josephus and the Rabbis is compared with what is found in the Bible, and checked by the Ordnance Survey, I believe the plan, at least, of the inner Temple may be laid down, if not with absolute certainty, at least with quite sufficient accuracy for all our present purposes. The disposition and names of some of the rooms attached to the Temple must, for the present at least, remain somewhat doubtful; but these are not important, and may fairly be left to future investigation.

If the dimensions of the inner court, so frequently and so loudly proclaimed in the Talmud, could be depended upon, the task of the restorer would be considerably simplified. It is over and over again stated to have been a parallelogram 187 cubits east and west by 135 cubits north and south, both which measurements are palpably wrong, the first to the extent of 13 cubits, the other by 15 to 16 cubits. The first is obtained by the Rabbis from the following addition:—

	Cubits.
From the inside of the wall to the back of the Holy House—the "separate place" of Ezekiel	11
The house itself	100
From the porch to the altar	22
The altar	32
The Court of the Priests	11
The Court of the Men of Israel	11
	187 cubits.[1]

[1] Middoth v. 1.

It is evident, however, that the Rabbis omit to take into account the space between the front of the house and the *toran*, or screen, which in Herod's Temple took the place of Jachin and Boaz in that of Solomon, as will be explained hereafter, and is here called "the porch," but is quite distinct from the *Ailam*, or porch, of the house itself. This I estimate at 5 cubits. The Altar was, east and west, 33 instead of 32 cubits. They omit the width of the steps that separated the Court of the Priests from that of the Men of Israel, probably 1½ or 2 cubits, and, lastly, they omit the depth of the gate Nicanor. In other words, the width of the Court of Israel—already too narrow—must have been measured from the front of that gateway; and if it projected 5 cubits into the court—which is the least assignable measure—these omissions amount together to 13 cubits, and make the whole inner length of the court 200 cubits, instead of 187 cubits.

If the Talmudists had been aware that the courts of Solomon's Temple were exactly double those of the Tabernacle, and that consequently 200 cubits was a sacred number, they would no doubt have found means of making their measurements of this court agree with those of the Bible. The fact of the one being double[1] the other is, however, nowhere mentioned in the Bible, nor this number quoted in so many words. It seems, however, strange that they should have studied Ezekiel with so little care as not to perceive that he makes the court, in which the Temple and the Altar stand, 200 cubits east and west. Had they done so, instead of misreading 500 reeds for 500 cubits, the confusion they have introduced into the measurements of the Temple would never have existed. They have thus, however, prevented the true state of the case from being perceived up to this time, and it is therefore a fortunate circumstance that the materials exist for correcting so serious a mistake. From what has been said above about the dimensions of Solomon's Temple, it does not seem to admit of a doubt that in it 200 cubits was the length of the court which contained the Temple and Altar, and if this were so, it seems simply impossible that any other dimensions could have been introduced in the rebuilding in Herod's time.

The section north and south is not so easily disposed of, as the Rabbis give us no addition that makes up the sum of 135 cubits at which they state it. What they do state is the following, beginning from the north:—

	Cubits.
From the walls to the pillars (of the court)	8
From the pillars to the tables	4
From the tables to the rings	4
Place of the rings	24
From the rings to the altar	8
From north side of altar to the foot of sloping ascent on south side	62
	110 cubits.

[1] I do not want to take credit for what may not be my due, but so far as I know I am the first to insist on the duplication of the Tabernacle in the Temple, as one of the principal means of ascertaining the dimensions of the latter.

The remainder, they merely add, lay between the foot of the slope and the place of the pillars, but what that amount was, they do not state, and we are left to supply it as best we may. It may either be 17, or 25, or 33, or, in fact, any number we please. Before, however, trying to explain this, it is necessary to point out that even then the Rabbis omit the width of the "tables." They measure to and from them, but do not state what their breadth was. In Ezekiel's Temple, the dimension was 1½ cubit,[1] and it may have been the same in Herod's, or, more probably, 2 cubits in the larger Temple.

When we add the Talmudic measures together with the corrections, we find the distance from the north wall to the centre of the altar is 66½ cubits, made up of the following items:—

	Cubits.
From the wall to the pillars	8
From the pillars to the tables	4
Tables according to Ezekiel	1½
From the tables to the rings	4
Place of the rings	24
From rings to altar	8
Half-altar	17
	66½ cubits;

the one element of uncertainty here being whether the measurement of the Altar ought to be taken as 16 or 17 cubits to its centre; in other words, whether the cubit "the children of the Captivity"[2] added was taken into account in the above specification, or whether the Rabbis adhered to the sacred number of 32 cubits for the Altar. On the whole, I am inclined to think they did so, and also, as no half-cubits are found in the Middoth, that the width of the tables was increased from 1½ cubit to 2 cubits, making the whole distance from the wall to the centre of the Altar 66 cubits. To this we shall have occasion to refer hereafter, when I think it will be found expedient to drop the half-cubit, which, after all, is not mentioned in the Talmud, but only adopted from Ezekiel. Sometimes I am inclined to fancy that, having thus got to what they believed to be the centre of the court, they doubled the figure above obtained for the whole width. It is true this only makes 132 or 133 cubits, instead of 135, but we are not sure of the component parts of their sum, which are not stated in the Middoth.

The unfortunate part of the business is that the Rabbis afford us no means of checking this sum, or of ascertaining how it was arrived at. As just explained, we can see how the 187 cubits of this court, east and west, was made up, but they give us no figures which, added together, make up 135 cubits. The duplication theory, just hinted at, can hardly be maintained;

[1] Ezekiel xl. 42. [2] Middoth iii. 1.

and, besides, it only gives 132 or 133 cubits, instead of 135; and the only suggestion that occurs to me is that the 135 cubits was the width of the hypæthral part of the great court, and that to this must be added 16 cubits, for the width of the two colonnades on the north and south, making altogether 151. This, on the other hand, is 1 cubit in excess, and results in an uneven number, which I hold to be quite inadmissible in Jewish architecture. I have therefore assumed that the width of the open court was 134 cubits, and with the porticos 150 cubits from wall to wall. I am, of course, aware that this is a mere assumption, for which there is no direct authority; but as it is the one measurement in the whole Temple plan that cannot be proved, any one is at liberty to reject this one cubit if he thinks it expedient to do so. All I can object is that the uneven number in which it results is most improbable, and that, if it is retained, the outside dimensions of the inner Temple will be 210 cubits east and west, and 211 cubits north and south, which, to say the least of it, is equally unlikely. If, however, it is determined that it must be retained, this cubit must be taken out of the southern Court of the Gentiles, where, as above explained, there are 2 cubits in excess of the other courts; and one of them may have been overlooked in the design, though found necessary in the execution. This is the most that can result from its retention; but as it is the only important measurement in the whole Temple plan regarding which I feel any doubt or hesitation, I must leave it to others to decide whether it should be retained or rejected.

Besides the testimony of the Talmud, Josephus describes these "single cloisters" (of the inner court) "as no way inferior, except in magnitude, to those of the lower court."[1] Nor must we forget that the inner court of Solomon's Temple was surrounded by three rows of hewn stone, with a row of cedar beams, which, as explained above (page 39), I fancy meant a double colonnade. Be this as it may, these 16 cubits being added to the Rabbinical measure of 134 or 135 cubits, instead of being included in it, is just what was wanted to render the plan of this court reasonable and intelligible. Without them, in addition to the absurdity of having a Court of the *Women* of Israel 135 cubits in length by 135 cubits in width, we had only a Court of the *Men* of Israel 135 cubits in length by 11 cubits in width, or less in size than one-twelfth of that of the women. We had the further difficulty that the Court of the Men could only be entered from the east through the Court of the Women, for the Court of the Priests, of the same dimensions, extended from wall to wall, and, according to the Rabbis, cut off the men of Israel from all the southern entrances. Such an arrangement is utterly untenable, for no one can study the plan of the Temple even superficially without perceiving that practically the principal façade and the principal entrances faced the south.

[1] B. J. v. 5, 2.

Not only was the Stoa Basilica there, but all the three entrances, which we know were in use, open into the southern Court of the Gentiles, and from it, as we shall see presently, three double gateways led to the inner court; and to say that these could not be used by the men of Israel is too manifestly absurd to be for one moment admitted. By the arrangement now proposed, we have a southern Court of the Men of Israel 200 cubits long by 34 or 35 cubits wide; and we understand at once the whole design, which was singularly appropriate and well arranged. The accommodation thus provided for the men of Israel is, as nearly as may be, double that provided for the women, instead of being only one twelfth; and it is exactly where it is wanted, and arranged just as any one now designing the Temple would like to place it.

If, therefore, we may assume, for the reasons above given, that the dimensions of the open part of this court were 134 cubits, not 135 cubits, as the Rabbis state them, and the whole width, with the colonnades, 150 cubits, the section through the façade of the holy house becomes easy, thus:—

	Cubits.	
Width of cloister	8	
Entrance to separate place	8	
Half-width of façade of Temple	50	
		66
Half-width again	50	
South Court of Men of Israel	34	
		84
		150 cubits.

If the internal dimensions of this court were consequently 200 by 150 cubits, we have only to add, to the first figure, the thickness of its western and eastern walls, which I have assumed to be 6 and 4 cubits respectively, and we have a total dimension of 210 cubits over all. In like manner, we have only to add the width of the two ranges of chambers on the north and south sides of the court, which, we learn from Josephus, were each 30 cubits,[1] and we arrive at the same dimension; in other words, that the inner Temple was an exact square of 210 cubits, which is an extremely satisfactory result, inasmuch as we learn from Josephus that it was an exact square,[2] though, unfortunately, neither he nor the Talmud tells us what its real dimensions were. Besides this, nothing can be more in conformity with the whole spirit of Jewish architecture than that they should make their inner Temple—the only part they considered sacred—a perfectly regular figure. They attempted the same with the whole "mountain of the house," but failed, owing to local difficulties; but this they evidently considered as of comparatively little import-

[1] B. J. v. 5, 3. [2] B. J. v. 5, 2.

ance, and the difference between 406 and 390 was not so great as to be detected without measurement, and consequently sufficed for the semi-sacred parts of the Temple.

Immediately outside this square inner court was a flat terrace or berm, called the Chel, 10 cubits wide, which was part of the sacred precincts, into which only the Israelites were allowed to enter. On its outer edge was a marble screen of elegant design, 3 cubits in height, in which at intervals were inserted pillars bearing inscriptions in Greek and Roman characters, declaring that it was forbidden to any foreigner to enter the sanctuary.[1] The Talmud represents this screen, which they call Soreg, as of wood, richly carved,[2] but this is evidently a mistake, as M. Ganneau found one of these pillars built into the wall of a house near the Haram area.[3] It was of marble, and bore the identical inscription in Greek letters that is mentioned by Josephus.

In almost all the restorations of the Temple published hitherto, this barrier, or Soreg, is placed halfway between the pillars of the outer porticos and the foot of the steps leading to the Chel. There, however, it would be singularly unmeaning and devoid of any dignity of form, but placed where I have put it, at the head of the steep flight of steps, it gains dignity from its position, and its meaning is sufficiently plain. It was placed there to protect the Chel from profanation by the impure, but no part of the Court of the Gentiles nor of the steps was included in the inner Temple, and they therefore required no such protection. Besides this, if we read carefully the description of Josephus, we see that he describes, first, the hypæthral part of the Court of the Gentiles, or outer court, as paved with stones of various sorts and colours. He then proceeds to describe the inner or second Temple as surrounded by this barrier, and then adds, "This second or inner Temple is called 'the sanctuary,' and is ascended to by fourteen steps."[4] From this it is quite evident that the steps led up from the Court of the Gentiles, which was accessible to foreigners, to the inner or sacred parts, to which Israelites only were admitted; and the barrier inside the steps was the obvious division between what was common to all and what was sacred, including the Chel, and appropriated to the men of Israel only.

It seems quite certain that the Chel with its Soreg extended round three sides of the inner Temple, on the south, north, and west sides, though it may have been omitted on the last, where there were no steps; but it seems doubtful whether it extended to the east, so as to encompass also the Court of the Women. If you ask the Talmudists, they answer unhesitatingly that it did.[5] There can be no doubt that the Court of the Women was *chel*, or sacred, if the word may be used as an adjective. The events narrated in the Acts of the Apostles,[6] which certainly took place in the Court of the Women, are alone sufficient to prove this; but the

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[1] Bel. Jud. v. 5, 2. [2] Lightfoot, p. 306. [3] Quarterly Reports, P. E. F., new series, No. 2, p. 132, 1871.
[4] B. J. v. 5, 2. [5] Lightfoot, pp. 300 *et seqq.* [6] Acts xxi. 28.

question is, Was not the Court of the Women practically the Chel of the inner Temple? That, it must be remembered, was the square court above described as 210 cubits square, and though certain portions around it were *chel*, they were less sacred than the sanctuary itself. It was, for instance, lawful to sit in the Chel and in the Court of the Women. It was not lawful to do so in the court of the Temple, unless it were the king;[1] while it is almost certain that it was in this court that Christ *sat* and taught, as narrated in Mark xii. 41. Besides this, we are told that Herod was not permitted to enter into the Temple itself, nor into the Court of the Priests, nor of that of the Men of Israel.[2] These three places are distinctly specified as forbidden, but as the Court of the Women is not mentioned, the inference is that he might have entered that without committing sacrilege.

The question, however, is not so much the degree of relative sanctity of the Temple and the Court of the Women as the manner in which the latter was defined and maintained. If we consult the Talmud, we find the Rabbis maintaining without hesitation that the Chel with its barrier surrounded the whole, and included the Court of the Women in the same manner as it did the more sacred parts of the Temple; and it is easy to understand that, having put the whole of the 100 cubits they had to spare, from their mislection of Ezekiel, into the Court of the Women, and made it 135 cubits square, it never could have occurred to them that a court of these dimensions could be a Chel to one only 210 cubits square. The case, however, is different when we have ascertained that the Court of the Women was only 35 cubits wide. The difference between that and the Chel of 10 cubits that surrounded the three other sides is not so great that they might not be considered as subserving the same purposes. The Temple properly so called was contained in the square, described above as a square of 210 cubits. What was beyond that was, in Solomon's time, the New Court; in Ezekiel's time the Outer Court; and, though it is nowhere expressly so stated, these may even in those days have been accessible to foreigners. When in Herod's time the eastern court was divided into two, and the inner half given up to the women of Israel and the outer half avowedly to the Gentiles, it may very well have been that the women's court was considered as a partition taken from the outer and less sacred parts of the Temple to mark and enforce a distinction which had become indispensable between Jews and Gentiles, at a time when the latter had acquired certain privileges which were nevertheless fiercely resented by the stricter sects of the Jewish nation.

There are other reasons, some of which will appear in the sequel, why the Court of the Women should be considered as the Chel on the east side of the Temple; but in case anyone should object to this view, I have drawn it with a Chel of its own, but one only 5 cubits in width. In the first place, as symbolical of its

[1] Lightfoot, p. 338. [2] Josephus, Ant. xv. 11, 5.

less complete sanctity, and, in the second, because the steps leading to it were only three in number, instead of twelve or fourteen, such a diminution would be architecturally appropriate. If, however, it is thought that it is still necessary to provide it with a Chel of 10 cubits width, it can easily be done, but only at the expense of the Court of the Gentiles. This, however, I consider, to say the least of it, as extremely improbable, inasmuch as the pavement of the hypæthral part of the Court of the Gentiles seems certainly to have been set out with a width of 24 cubits on the three other sides, and it seems very unlikely they would have varied it unnecessarily on the east, while it could easily have been set out with the same width all round.

The mode in which we ascertain the number of steps leading from the Court of the Gentiles to that of the Women is this. As explained above, there were on the north side twelve steps leading to the Chel, and beyond that there were five more leading to the Court of Israel of the inner Temple,[1] or seventeen on the north and nineteen on the south, but consequently in the middle eighteen. Now from the Talmud we know that fifteen steps led from the Court of the Women to that of Israel, so that only three more were required to ascend from the Court of the Gentiles to that of the Women, and these in plan would occupy only 1 cubit or at most 2 cubits. The section, therefore, of the court may be expressed in the following figures:—

	Cubits.
Court of the Women—corrected Middoth	35
Eastern wall	4
Chel with its barrier (?)	5
Steps, 1½ cubit or 2 cubits	2
Court of Gentiles, as on all sides	24
Solomon's Porch, as rebuilt by Herod	30
	100 cubits;

or the exact inner dimensions of the new or outer Court of Solomon's Temple which was subdivided in this manner when the Temple was rebuilt by Herod. To this we must add 6 cubits, say, 10 feet, for the assumed thickness of the outer wall to make up the dimensions obtained from the Ordnance Survey.

It is now only necessary to explain how the western Court of the Gentiles was subdivided, and this fortunately is the easiest of the whole, as the simplest in its arrangements. The external wall, being an upper one, and, like that on the south, not liable to be attacked, was, it seems, only 4 cubits in thickness; the portico, as on the north and east sides, according to Josephus, 30 cubits. This also was the width, as before explained, of the open part of the Court of the

[1] Bel. Jud. v. 5, 2.

Gentiles all round, including the steps, which, however, did not exist on this side; and if to these figures we add the Chel, 10 cubits, we have:—

	Cubits.
Wall	4
Covered part, or porch	30
Open or hypæthral part, including position of steps	30
Chel	10
	74 cubits;

all which is so appropriate, and so consonant with what we find in other parts, that it does not appear to me to admit of any doubt.

Our grand section east and west will therefore, as before stated, stand thus:—

	Cubits.
Western Court of Gentiles	74
Inner Temple over all	210
Eastern court, including Court of Women	100
Outer eastern wall	6
	390 cubits, or 585 feet,

as measured by the Ordnance Survey.

The elements of uncertainty in this are very few, and confined wholly to matters of detail, which in themselves are really of very slight importance. Thus the position of the Altar being given—and this, as before explained, I consider fixed absolutely by the centre line of the Huldah Gate—and the dimensions of the inner Temple, being ascertained (210 cubits), those of the western Court of the Gentiles are also determined as 74 cubits beyond all cavil. In like manner, the distance of 100 cubits between the outer face of the inner Temple and the back of Solomon's Porch, I look upon as absolutely fixed, not only by the Bible, but also by calculation, and it consequently is only how the last figure should be subdivided that is at all open to question. For myself, I fancy that the 5 cubits allowed for a Chel here could be as well or better employed in providing galleries and porches inside the Court of the Women, but it seems of singularly little importance how this is decided. The general dimensions of these three great divisions east and west may be considered as ascertained within inches, and so, too, is their exact position on the Ordnance Survey.

The section north and south is equally satisfactory. First we have:—

	Cubits.
Northern Court of the Gentiles as before	70
The Temple properly so called	210
Southern Court of the Gentiles	120
	400
To which we must add the thickness of the north wall, for which there is no authority, say	6
	406 cubits = 609 or 610 feet.

Here the one element of uncertainty is whether the inner Temple is to be considered as measuring 210 or 211 cubits north and south. For reasons above given, I myself have no doubt that it was 210, and the centre line to have been 66 cubits from the northern wall, so that this section appears to be ascertained with the same precision and certainty as that in the transverse direction.

We are now in a position to understand the scheme on which the rebuilding of the Temple by Herod was undertaken, and the motives that governed the selection of the dimensions given to each part. They originated, partly, in a love of even numbers, for which the Jewish architects always showed so strong a predilection, but more in the necessity for adhering to dimensions they considered sacred, as having been divinely revealed to their ancestors under circumstances of the deepest solemnity.

The largest or outer dimension of 400 cubits was not sacred, and nowhere occurs in the Bible. It therefore was of the least possible consequence whether it was a few cubits longer or shorter in any direction; the architects were consequently free to adopt any number they found most convenient for the harmonious arrangement of the internal parts.

As the internal dimensions of the holy house itself were divinely ordained, there was very little room for extension in those parts; but the façade did not exist in the Tabernacle, and had already been extended in Solomon's Temple; so the Jews in Herod's time were allowed to indulge in their love of numerical symmetry, by extending the three "sixties" of Solomon's Temple into three "hundreds" in Herod's, and to make the building, which was 100 cubits long in the body, 100 cubits high and 100 cubits broad in the façade, so as to make it practically a cube or at least a building of three equal dimensions, like the Holy of Holies, which was their *beau-idéal* of symmetrical proportions.

A building, however, that was 100 cubits in width could not stand in a court of 100 cubits, and allow of the necessary passages round it; so the architects boldly added 50 cubits to its width north and south, while retaining the sacred dimension of 200 cubits east and west. Several advantages were gained by this adjustment, which enabled them to indulge in their love of symmetry, without interfering with their sacred traditions. Thus, although it was of the least possible consequence whether the outer court should be exactly 400 cubits each way, it was essential, according to their ideas, that the inner court of the Temple should be perfectly symmetrical, and it thus became—as above pointed out—an exact square measuring 210 cubits externally; and internally it was no doubt 200 cubits each way, though, as we do not know the exact thickness of the north and south walls, it is hardly possible to prove this. If, however, we assume the north and south walls of the chambers to have been 5 cubits, 7½ feet, which is an extremely probable number, the result would be that the inner court of the Temple was an exact square measuring 200 cubits each way internally. Not

only did the inner Temple thus become perfectly symmetrical, but this result was obtained by repeating in Herod's Temple the exact arithmetical operation that Solomon had performed on the Tabernacle. The court in which the Tabernacle stood was 50 cubits by 100; Solomon made it 100 cubits by 200; and in Herod's time it was increased to a square of 200 cubits, retaining its dimensions east and west, but doubling them in right angles.

Another very important advantage was obtained by this adjustment. As before pointed out (page 94), the inner Temple, with its southern and eastern courts, as rebuilt by Herod, measured 300 cubits north and south, as well as east and west, thus reproducing exactly the dimensions of the Temple described by Ezekiel. The western and northern outer courts were hardly considered, at any time, sacred by the Jews. There was absolutely no connexion between the western and the inner court, and no opening in the western wall of the Temple properly so called; nor was there any public entrance from the northern to the inner court of the Temple. The priests and servants of the Temple had access from the north. The public had not, and in fact, except for the purposes of a passage, had no business on that side at all. The inner Temple, with its southern and eastern courts, was in fact the Temple properly so called. The western and northern courts, like the Gamma of the Altar,[1] were an excrescence necessary for convenience, but neither for sanctity nor symmetry.

In Solomon's time the western court could have had no existence, as it stands on new ground made by Herod, and the northern court in his day was a ditch which was filled up by Pompey, and only taken into the precincts when the enlargement on the north[2] was determined upon. It thus happened that neither their site nor their dimensions had at any time much sanctity attached to them, but the case was widely different with the remaining 300 cubits, which, had the Rabbis been capable of understanding Ezekiel, they would have adopted, as Herod's architect did, from his writing, instead of the 500 cubits, with reference to which they blundered so egregiously.

All this is so exactly in conformity with all we know of the history of the Temple, and of the feelings which dictated and governed its design, that now that these dimensions are confirmed to within inches by the Ordnance Survey, I do not see that the dimensions of the Temple in plan can any longer be open to doubt. I, at least, know of no building in the whole world, which has been so completely ruined, regarding the plan and dimensions of which we can feel the same confident certainty as we can regarding this celebrated Temple, and unless I am strangely mistaken, this part of the question may be considered—in all its essential parts—settled at once and for ever.

[1] Middoth iii. 1. [2] B. J. v. 5, 1.

CHAPTER IV.

GATES AND CHAMBERS.

WHEN from these dimensions and details, which work out so satisfactorily and with such minute accuracy in plan, we turn to the arrangement and the names of the various gates and chambers that surrounded the inner court of the Temple, we find a totally different state of matters. The position and the form of the Water Gate may be fixed with perfect accuracy, but, beyond that, the evidence is so confused and contradictory that only approximate certainty can be attained in any case; but, fortunately, no important issues depend on their arrangement. Their general form and use are easily understood, and whether one was east or west of another, or whether it bore one or two names, is only of interest to students of the Talmud. The Bible hardly alludes to them, and history would not be made much clearer if we knew all that could be known about them.

If written materials existed for explaining their positions and uses, it certainly would have been done long ago by Lightfoot.[1] His intimate familiarity with the writings of the Rabbis and his critical sagacity would certainly have enabled him to clear up the mystery, but nothing can be more unsatisfactory than the twelve chapters he devotes to this purpose (xxi.–xxxii.). There are some points, of course, which he establishes with tolerable certainty, but the whole is a mass of confusion that is most disheartening. It is quite evident, from what he says, that the Rabbis had no real knowledge of the locality, and no treatise had been written by any one personally acquainted with it. They gathered together from various treatises, written by different hands, such allusions as they found bearing on the matter in hand, and noted them down without having the skill sufficient to construct a plan from them, or to see how the one piece of knowledge elucidated or contradicted another. In this instance, local knowledge was not required, and the want of it would not have prevented Lightfoot from settling the question, had the necessary materials been available; but, without going farther than the little treatise of the Middoth in the Appendix, it is easy to see how and why he broke down in the task.

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[1] The Temple Service and the Prospect of the Temple, by the Rev. John Lightfoot, D.D., Master of Catharine Hall, Cambridge, published with other works in two volumes folio; afterwards by the Rev. John Pitman, in the ninth volume of his collected works in 1823, but, strange to say, without correcting any of the errors or inadvertences of the original work. It is this octavo edition of 1823 from which all the references here given are taken.

In the first chapter we have the following statement:—"In the court (the inner) there were seven gates: three in the north and three in the south and one in the east. That in the south was called the Gate of Flaming, the second after it the Gate of Offering, the third after it the Water Gate. That in the east was called the gate Nicanor" (sect. 5). "At the gate Nitzus, in the north, was a kind of cloister with a room built over it, where the priests kept ward above and the Levites below. Second to it was the Gate of Offering; third was the house of Moked or Mokadh." If the description stopped there, all would be clear. The position of the Water Gate we know absolutely; it was opposite the Altar, and in continuation of the gate Huldah, and if we may assume—which I think we are justified in doing—that on the north, as well as on the south, the enumeration begins from the west, all is clear. The two Gates of Offering were opposite to one another in the centre, and the gate Mokadh was opposite the Water Gate, and this I believe to be the true state of the case. But a little farther on (chap. ii. sect. 6) we have the following statement:—"In the south, near the west, were the Upper Gate, the Gate of Flaming, the Gate of the First-born, the Water Gate." Here a fourth gate is interpolated, which, we may say, certainly did not exist, and, except for the Water Gate, new names are applied. The Rabbis then go on to say:—"Opposite to them in the north, near to the west, the gate of Jochania, the Gate of Offering, the Gate of the Women, and the Gate of Music." Here also we have four gates, and, except the Gate of Offering, with new names, so that their identification becomes difficult, though not so much so as Lightfoot would lead us to suppose. In his 32nd chapter, he places the gate Nitzus as the most eastern, neglecting the distinct assertion, just quoted from the Middoth, that it was the most western, and identifying it with the Gate of Music, for which he confesses he has no authority,[1] but in doing this, he disarranges the whole matter, and introduces a confusion that runs through his entire work.

In this dilemma it is fortunate that Josephus comes forward to help us with a distinct statement. Beyond the Chel, he says, "There were five other steps which led to the gates, which gates were eight, on the north and south sides, or four on each, and of necessity two on the east, for since there was a partition built for the women on that side, as a proper place for them to worship, there was of necessity a second gate for them."[2] "This gate was cut out of the wall over against the first gate. But on the other sides, there was one northern and one southern gate, through which there was a passage to the Court of the Women, for, as to the other gates, the women were not allowed to pass through them, nor, when they went through their own, could they pass beyond their own wall."[3] Even this passage, however, would not be quite free from

[1] Lightfoot, p. 378.

[2] The mode in which Josephus speaks of this κλίμα, or partition cut off from something else, is alone sufficient to prove that it was not a court nearly as large as the Temple court itself, as the Rabbis would wish us to believe. B. J. v. 5, 2.

[3] B. J. v. 5, 2.

ambiguity, were it not that, in the next section (3), he mentions twice over that nine of these gates were covered with gold and silver, and one with Corinthian brass—the Beautiful Gate of the Bible, the Nicanor of the Talmud. From this and from the necessities of the plan, there seems no doubt that there were ten gates, and ten gates only, to the inner Temple with the Court of the Women. The Rabbinical specification of thirteen[1] I believe to be accounted for by the fact that the three southern gates were double, while all the others were single, as will be explained presently.

Of these ten gates, the only one of the position and dimensions of which we can feel quite sure from local indications is the Water Gate. As Lightfoot says, "It opened directly on the altar."[2] It was in fact a continuation of the gate Huldah, and derived its name from being attached on the west side to the "draw-well room," whence the principal supply of water for the use of the Temple was then obtained, *as it is now*. It stands, in fact, over the "Well of the Leaf," which was supplied with water from Solomon's Pool, certainly in Herod's, if not in Solomon's time. The conduit that brought the water into it was cut through by the builders of the Aksa[3] (694 A.D.), when they found it necessary to extend the passage from the gate Huldah, so as to rise to the surface in front of the mosque, considerably farther north than was originally necessary. It was probably owing to the fact of its being supplied from Etam that it was considered the principal source, from which water was obtained, for the service of the Altar and courts; otherwise we should suppose that the "great sea," so called, was more important; but that seems to receive rain water only, or to be supplied from some underground springs, which may have been less constant and less to be depended upon. Be that as it may, the principal opening through which water is now drawn from the "Well of the Leaf" occurs under the colonnade of the inner Temple, just where we would expect to find it placed for the service of the Temple. If, however, it is thought necessary to take the expression of the Talmud literally, it was in the "room" adjoining the gateway. This, however, need cause no difficulty, as a second opening, though now disused, still exists, and is marked on the Ordnance Survey, in that room, as protracted from the indications in Josephus and the Talmud; in the centre towards the east.

With their usual correctness in detail, the Rabbis make these gates all 10 cubits or 15 feet wide, by 20 cubits or 30 feet in height, which is, as nearly as may be, the dimensions we derive from those of the passage from the gate Huldah, that is, 40 feet in width; while by protraction of the south façade of the Temple we obtain 39 feet between the towers, and, making the necessary allowance for the central dividing pier and the door-posts, 15 feet, is, as nearly as may be, the dimensions we arrive at. But here, for the first time, we detect a mode of exaggeration Josephus is too fond of indulging in. Instead of 15 by 30 *feet*,

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[1] Middoth ii. 6. [2] Chap. xxiv. p. 350. [3] Wilson's Notes, p. 39; see also Ordnance Survey map.

he says the doors were 15 *cubits* wide by 30 *cubits* high,[1] which are dimensions we cannot possibly work to, especially if the gates were double. It appears to me hardly doubtful that Josephus was wrong in this statement. In the first place, it would be a curious instance of architectural bathos if a double gateway like that of Huldah, with two passages of 12 cubits each, were to lead to a single entrance only 10 cubits wide. Besides this, we must never lose sight of the fact that, though Solomon's Temple faced the east, because his palace was on that side, and access to the Temple was easily obtained by the inclined plane between the Horse Gate and the Upper Gate, its orientation was entirely changed by Herod's additions. In his time the Temple faced the south; not only did the great Stoa Basilica occupy that side, but all the three great entrances we know of, centred in the southern Court of the Gentiles: that from Ophel, by the gate Huldah; that from the city, across the causeway; and that from the suburbs, by the Parbar Gate. It, consequently, was necessary to provide access to the Temple from that court, equal, or at least nearly equal, in width to those that gave access to the lower court. The former were—one of 12 cubits from the Parbar, two of 12 cubits from the Huldah, and one of 30 cubits from the central aisle of the Stoa Basilica, or 66 cubits in all. Six gates of 10 cubits to the Temple and one of like dimensions to the Court of the Women would suffice for this; but less would be a defect in the design hardly to be expected in so beautiful and regular a building.

If this is so—or, indeed, whether it is or not—we have little difficulty in setting out the southern façade, which was the principal one of Herod's Temple. The position of the eastern or Water Gate being fixed absolutely, that of the western or Gate Hadlak or of Flaming must, of course, correspond with it; and the only question is, should it correspond with the internal or with the external divisions of the court?—for as the wall on the west was, in all probability, 2 cubits thicker than that on the east, the western block must be 2 cubits wider than the eastern. For reasons which will appear hereafter, I have preferred the internal to the external symmetry of the façade; but it is so small a matter—no human eye could detect it—that it is hardly worth arguing about. But if any one thinks this a defect, he can easily distribute the two cubits among the intermediate parts. According to the arrangement adopted in the plan, this front consisted of—

	Cubits.
Two central towers of 28 cubits each	56
Three intermediate gateway spaces of 26 cubits each .	78
One angle tower of	37
Another angle tower	39
	210 cubits.

[1] B. J. v. 5, 3.

The Talmud does not give us the height of these buildings, but Josephus does in a manner to lead us to suspect another exaggeration, by changing feet into cubits. Externally, he says, they were 40 cubits in height, but internally only 25, because of the steps that led up from the Court of the Gentiles to that of the Temple. Now we know, as above stated, that these steps were 14+5 or 19 in number, and as each was half a cubit in height, this gives 9½ cubits, or 14 feet 3 inches, which is suspiciously like the 15 cubits Josephus assigns to this difference.

Eastward from the chamber of the draw-well stood the chamber Gazith or the chamber of hewn stone, in which the Sanhedrin sat from the time of the Captivity till forty years before the destruction of the Temple, or till A.D. 30.[1] Before the Captivity they sat apparently first in the outer and then in the inner of the two eastern gates of the Temple; but, as we have shown above, in describing Ezekiel's Temple, the gates were of a very different form and construction in the old Temples to what they were in either the second or third, and when this alteration was made, it was indispensable that a new chamber should be provided for the accommodation of the seventy-one members composing this great council.

The position and arrangements of this room have proved rather a stumbling-block to those who have hitherto attempted to restore the Temple, inasmuch as the Rabbis have added to it the specification that one-half of it must be within the Chel and one-half without; the reason given for this being that "it was not lawful for any man to sit in the (inner) court unless it be one of the kings of the house of David."[2] It was consequently necessary to provide that one-half of the room in which the great council sat should be outside the Chel, and have an entrance from the outer court, as well as from the inner.[3] All this is easily provided for, as shown in the plan; but how are we to understand the specification, "One-half inside the Chel and one-half outside"?

If the Chel were a barrier (*soreg*) or a rail, this might easily be explained; and a barrier that ran through a lower room might easily be carried either figuratively or actually through an upper one. But the Chel was a space 10 cubits wide, enclosed by a barrier which separated the profane from the holy; and how that can be said to run through a room is by no means clear. Supposing, for instance, any of the rooms round the inner court were doubled in extent in a direction north or south; one-half might be said to be outside, one-half inside the Chel; but, in that case, the fact would be, that the Chel was broken, and had ceased to exist certainly for the purposes for which it was intended when this extension took place. As I have placed it, if we might consider the passage, 10 cubits wide, leading to the Court of the Women under the Gazith as an extension of the Chel round the inner Temple, the difficulty would vanish; and

[1] Lightfoot, p. 242. [2] Lightfoot, p. 338. [3] Lightfoot, p. 337.

this is probably what was intended. If so, the Chel again expanded to 35 cubits, and formed the Court of the Women. There may be, indeed are, other modes which could be suggested for getting over the difficulty; but as this one seems to meet all the circumstances of the case, better than any other I can suggest, it is hardly worth while to dwell upon them. For our present purpose, it is sufficient to know that the room Gazith stood at this angle, and was considered as partly belonging to the inner, partly to the outer, court of the Temple, and having entrances from both.

Beyond this room Gazith, westward, there is very little difficulty in apportioning to each part of the south front the use for which it was employed. The only uncertainty arises from an *embarras de richesses*. We have more accommodation than we can find tenants for. Just over the draw-well room we have the Chamber of the Abtines, who had charge of the incense used in the services of the Temple, and were apparently persons of considerable importance. Over the Water Gate was the chamber of the high-priest, where he purified himself before taking part in the service of the Temple. The ground floor of the next tower was used as a store for the selected wood to be used for the service of the altar, for which it was most conveniently situated. The upper storey was the room Parhedrim, or council-chamber, next to that of the high-priest. Beyond this was the Gate of the Firstlings; but we are not told what was over it, nor to what purpose the room beyond was devoted, unless it was for the deposit of these offerings, or, as Dr. Lightfoot suggests, they were slain there.[1] In like manner, we have only a very indistinct account of why the Gate of Kindling, "Hadlakh," was so called, or of the purpose to which the large chamber beyond was appropriated. Dr. Lightfoot suggests that it may be the place where the Levites kept guard over against the vail,[2] meaning thereby the vail which separated the Holy Place from the Holy of Holies. There is, in fact, in the whole Temple no place so well suited for a guard chamber as this. It commands all the entrances, and if there was any chamber of the guard, this is the place where it would naturally be looked for.

It is hardly worth while pursuing this investigation further, for, as before mentioned, the names and uses of these various gates and chambers is of very little interest, except to specialists. They are not connected, historically, with any events which such appropriations would elucidate, while, architecturally, it is sufficient to know that this principal front of the Temple was divided into four tower-like masses, between which were three double gateways leading from the lower to the upper courts of the Temple, and extending over 210 cubits or 315 feet. For their uses, it is sufficient for our present purposes to know that their lower storeys were appropriated to the supply of water and wood for the service of the Altar and courts, and for the storage of offerings or guard chambers;

[1] Lightfoot, p. 359. [2] Lightfoot, p. 364.

while their upper chambers were used as the vestries or council chambers of the high-priest, and as the offices or residences of subordinate officials connected with the Temple service. It need hardly be remarked that, as they were all, including Gazith, of two storeys in height, they must have been connected with each other by stairs, though none are shown in the plans. These are omitted simply because they are not mentioned either in the Talmud or by Josephus, and there is no indication as to where they may have been placed. Under these circumstances it is open to any one to supply them wherever he pleases, and one arrangement is likely to be as good as another. The best will only be an evidence of its author's ingenuity, but be of no historical value.

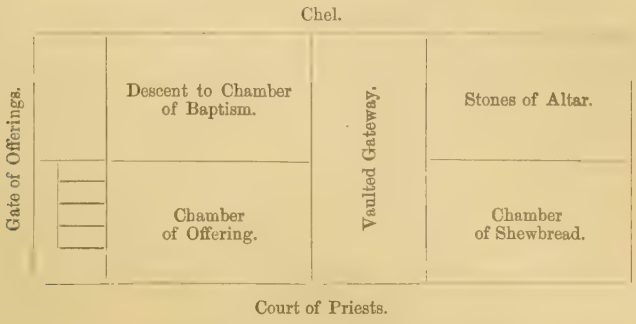
When from the southern we turn to the northern face of the inner Temple, we find a very different state of things. In the first place, this façade seems always to have been considered as what, in common parlance, may be called the back front of the Temple. The public always, of course, had access to the northern Court of the Gentiles, which extended along it, and probably may have occasionally circumambulated the Temple in this direction; but no external entrance opened into this court, for the passage through the Antonia could hardly ever have been considered as a public thoroughfare, and the gateway Tadi or Teri was, as before mentioned, disused at the time we are speaking of. In like manner, no access to the inner Temple was permitted to either the men or women of Israel from the northern side. All the three entrances on this side opened into the Court of the Priests, and were available for the priests, and them only. Even on the inside the men of Israel were only allowed to approach the northern range of buildings by a narrow slip 11 cubits wide on the extreme eastern side of the inner court, where apparently the Chamber of Shewbread was situated. All the rest was appropriated to the priests, and forbidden to the laity. The first consequence of this seems to have been that the gates on this side were single, and probably less magnificent than those on the south, and the chambers more numerous, but of a more utilitarian character, than those on the other side.

It is probably in consequence of their being of such minor importance that the buildings on this side are described so carelessly and with so much less detail than those on the south. But whatever the cause may be, it is at least certain that neither the compilers of the Talmud nor their commentators have any clear ideas on the subject of their arrangement. As Dr. Lightfoot says, each of the gates had two names; the centre one certainly had three. In two instances, at least, different rooms had the same names, and, as he avers, one author describes the various apartments from east to west, while another proceeds in a contrary direction. All this is of course sufficiently perplexing, but still I do not think the confusion is so great as the learned doctor makes it appear to be.[1] Practically, the whole difficulty hinges on the position of the Beth Mokadh. If it was—where

[1] Lightfoot, chaps. xxviii.–xxxii.

it was placed in the 1st chapter of the Middoth, quoted above—immediately behind the Altar, all the rest is clear; if, on the contrary, it is at the west end of the range, where Lightfoot and others place it, I am afraid the confusion must remain as hopeless as he represents its being.

The reason for placing the Beth Mokadh immediately behind the Altar will be understood from the annexed diagram:—



20.—DIAGRAM EXPLANATORY OF BETH MOKADH.

Beth Mokadh was by far the most important building on this side, and consisted of five apartments on the ground floor. The central one was vaulted (query, domed), and opened on the north on the Chel, on the south on the inner court. Here the elders kept watch day and night, and here too the keys of the court were always kept. It seems also that it was opposite the gate Tadi,[1] and if that gate was where I have placed it, this would settle the question. The south-eastern chamber was where the shewbread was prepared and kept, and was, according to this arrangement, next the place of the pancake maker, which was on the north of the gate Nicanor. The south-west chamber was where the lambs were kept for daily sacrifice, and it thus adjoined the Gate of Offerings. If Mokadh was placed in the north-west corner of the court, the lambs would be at the greatest possible distance from the Altar, and wholly disconnected with the Gate of Offerings. The north-east chamber was called the Chamber of Stones, because it was there that the stones of the Altar were stored up which had been defiled by the Greek kings.[2] Its situation exactly corresponds with that in which the high-priest was shut up at the north-east angle of the Temple for seven days before the ceremony of the sacrifice of the red heifer on the Mount of Olives, and which bore this name. In order to reconcile this legend with his position of the Beth Mokadh, Dr. Lightfoot, and, I presume, the Rabbis he follows, introduce a second chamber bearing this name,[3] but for which I can find no authority elsewhere. The fourth room, in the north-west corner, led down to a

[1] Middoth i. 9. [2] Middoth i. 6. [3] Lightfoot, pp. 379, 380.

bath or place of baptism, and by stairs up to some chambers. This, of course, might be anywhere ; but the other three can, I fancy, only be where I have placed them. The Beth Mokadh was, in fact, the principal building on this side, and as such could only be placed opposite the only open space in the court. Its being thrust into the north-west corner, behind the Temple, seems not only at variance with architectural propriety, but also with the Talmudic indications, in so far as I can understand them.[1]

The only passage, I know, that seems to contradict this view of the position of the Beth Mokadh is one in Lightfoot, where he describes the perambulation of the Temple by its guards.[2] They seem to have divided themselves into two companies, one perambulating the north and east sides, the other the west and south, and they seem to have met in the house of the pastryman, adjacent to the gate Nicanor. From this it seems evident that they started from the north-west corner, and if from the gate Mokadh, this would go far to prove that its position was there. But is not this just one of those cases where Dr. Lightfoot, or the Rabbis, having assumed that Beth Mokadh was in this corner, would assume that the procession started thence? In opposition, however, to this, we know that a barrack or chamber was erected over the cloisters at the north-west angle, where the priests kept guard ; and, as before pointed out, this seems to have been attached to the gate Nitzus.[3] On the whole, it does not appear to me that Dr. Lightfoot had any other authority for saying that the guard started from the Beth Mokadh except that they did set out from the north-west corner, and as he had placed that building there, he necessarily assumed it was thence. It seems, therefore, that we should be as fully justified in substituting Nitsots for Beth Mokadh as he does for the contrary assumption.

Assuming this for the present, the rest seems clear enough. The central gateway was called the Gate of Offering, because by it, as by the opposite gate on the south, offerings were brought in. It was called the Gate of Corban, because the treasury of the inner Temple was situated immediately to the westward of it, and it was miscalled the Gate of the Women, because the Rabbis confounded this Corban with that in the Court of the Women under which the northern entrance to that court passed. There seems, in fact, to be no doubt that, besides the various chests or boxes for receiving alms, placed in the Court of the Women, and elsewhere, there were two chambers so called ; one in the Court of the Women, opposite to and corresponding in position and dimensions with the chamber Gazith ; the other in the northern range of the buildings surrounding the inner Temple court ; and it is by confusing one with another, having no plan before them, that the centre gate was by mistake called the Gate of the Women.

The last gate to the westward was called Nitzus or Nitsots, the Gate of Song or of Sparkling,[4] and also bore the name of Jeconiah because through it that

[1] Lightfoot, p. 373. [2] Lightfoot, p. 106. [3] Middoth i. 5. [4] Lightfoot, p. 378.

unfortunate king was led to captivity. The question of which gate was the one most likely to witness this event will depend on where the headquarters of the Assyrian general then were. If in the city itself, which is most probable, it would be by the most western gate. This, of course, is too vague to found any argument upon, but, at all events, it is enough to show that there is no improbability in this gate being so called.

There is one other reason why the gate Nitsots should be considered the most western, which is that there was a room built over the cloister in front of it, beyond the gate westward, where the priests kept ward above and the Levites below.[1] Such an erection, as shown in the plan, would be easy at this inner end, but could hardly be placed in the open court behind the Altar, where it would have been a deformity.

If this arrangement of the gates is conceded, the position of the three remaining rooms follows as a matter of course. The room of "washing" was next the Corban to the westward, and the rooms of Salt and of Parvah between the gate Nitsots and the western wall of the court.

It is possible that some other arrangement of this northern range of buildings, or some modification of this one, may be suggested; but till this is done, I believe the one proposed here meets all the exigencies of the case, in so far as they are known to me at least; and it is, at all events, quite sufficient for all historical or architectural purposes. There is, however, one difficulty I have passed over, because I cannot explain it. In describing the four chambers of the Beth Mokadh, the Middoth says, "two were in the holy place, and two in the unconsecrated, and pointed rails formed the division between the holy and the unconsecrated."[2]

The difficulty here is of the same nature as that which arose in speaking of the room Gazith; but there it seems capable of explanation. Here I cannot realise any arrangement by which the two northern rooms can be got outside the Chel, unless wholly detached from the southern ones, which they certainly were not, nor how the Chel could have been broken here. Perhaps it only means that the two northern chambers opening on the Chel were considered as less holy than the two southern, which opened on to the inner court of the Temple, and that their partition wall was continued by rails across the central room to mark this relative degree of sanctity; if it was not this, I am afraid we must wait for some suggestion which has not yet been offered.

The dignity and importance of the north front of the inner Temple being so much less than that of the south front, its design most probably corresponded architecturally with this relative inferiority; and being more liable to attack, the defensive masses would be extended, and the gateways between them, besides being single, would be in narrower recesses, and con-

[1] Middoth i. 5. [2] Middoth i. 6.

sequently less easy to be got at than those of the southern face. It is probable, also, that, besides a difference in outline, the whole style of ornamentation in this front would be simpler, but bolder, than that on the south front of the Temple. These, however, are details that only interest any one who is designing architectural elevations for the various fronts, and we are hardly yet in a position to undertake these. Before attempting this, it is necessary to settle the plan and disposition of the various parts, and that is all we have been trying to elucidate at present, at least in so far as the courts are concerned. For the holy house itself, it may be necessary to attempt something more, in order to make it intelligible; but for the courts, this hardly appears important, at least in the present stage of the enquiry.

CHAPTER V.

THE COURT OF THE WOMEN.

Unfortunately, the Middoth gives us very little real information about the arrangement of the Court of the Women. It may have been that the authorities from which that treatise was originally compiled considered it so much less sacred than the Temple itself, that they left no particulars; or it may be that the Rabbis, finding it difficult to reconcile their theories with the facts, neglected to quote the details. Whether from these or from some other causes, the practical result is that all they tell us of this court is borrowed avowedly, but unintelligently, from the Book of Ezekiel. First, they made the unpardonable blunder of inserting into this court the whole of the 100 cubits they obtained in excess of the true dimensions of the Mountain of the House, by their misiection of Ezekiel, as above explained. They then made a second mistake, almost as glaring, though not so disastrous, by assuming that this court was identical with the outer or northern court of Ezekiel's Temple; and their description of it is avowedly taken from the 46th chapter of the prophet's vision, and the 21st and following verses.[1]

We may say we know with certainty that no northern court was attached to the Temple before the Captivity, nor indeed afterwards, for Hecatæus' measurements are quite sufficiently exact to prove this. It only existed in the prophet's brain, and there is nothing in the arrangements of Herod's Temple that would suggest the existence of any sacred adjunct on the northern side of any pre-existing Temple. When, therefore, the Rabbis tell us that this court was 135 cubits square, and had in each angle a court or apartment 40 cubits square, we can only say, the thing is impossible. Indeed, its improbability must have struck even the Rabbis, had they been able to draw or appreciate a plan. The disproportion of this court to its uses has already been insisted upon, but it is even more apparent in speaking of the four angular courts. The first was "the chamber of the Nazarites, where they cooked their peace-offering, and polled their hair, and cast it under the pot."[1] A very small kitchen would surely have sufficed for this. Another was where the priests selected the wood for the altar. A third was for the lepers, who certainly would not be allowed to be numerous within the precincts of the Temple; and as to the fourth, one Rabbi forgets what

[1] Middoth ii. 5.

it was used for, and another recollects that there they put wine and oil.[1] It was the lamp room, in fact, of the Temple. That there were four rooms in the four corners of this court is more than probable, and they are shown in the plan of this court, Plate II., as measuring 12 by 22 cubits internally—18 by 33 feet—which would provide amply for all the uses to which the above description would apply.

Besides these rooms, the court was a good deal encumbered by galleries, which it is not easy to restore from such descriptions as we possess. As its pavement was $7\frac{1}{2}$ cubits lower than that of the court of the Temple, it is evident that, even supposing there was no wall of separation, only those who stood or the top of the stairs could see what was passing in the upper court. Only fifty or one hundred persons, at most, of all those for whom this immense court was provided, could really take part in the Temple services. It was partly to remedy this, partly to admit of the separation of the sexes, "who, being formerly mixed promiscuously together, occasioned lightness and irreverence,"[2] that these galleries were provided. It would not be difficult to restore them if it were worth while, except as regards their height. Either they must have been very high, or the wall between the courts must have been very low, if even then the women could see what was passing in the inner court. They might hear, as they would be only 50 cubits from the *dukan*, or pulpit, where the Levites stood when chanting the Psalms, but had the court been 100 cubits wider, as the Rabbis would have us believe it was, they would have been deprived of even this advantage.

The Rabbis seem to have been aware that the Court of the Women was not concentric with the Temple court; but the reason assigned for this, as quoted by Dr. Lightfoot,[3] is rather an effect than a cause. They—the Rabbis—say the greatest space of the Mount was on the south, the second on the east, the third on the north, and the least to the westward; a specification that might be interpreted in various ways, were it not that the Middoth adds, "that in the place largest in measurement was held most service,"[4] which limits its application to the inner Temple, no service, in their eyes, being held outside that sacred precinct. Even then, however, the expression must be one of considerable ambiguity till it is defined whence the measurements are taken. My impression is that the Rabbis considered the Temple and its Altar as one and indivisible, and measured from thence as from one object; the consequence of which would be that the figures would be 35 cubits on the south, 22 on the east, 16 north, and 11 west.

The same result, however, would be obtained if we consider the inner court—200 cubits by 150 cubits—as the sacred spot, and measure from that. The figures would then stand, south 150, east 110, north 106, and west 74. The east and north are a little too near one another in this scheme, which is otherwise improbable, and some other may be suggested. The matter is not one of much

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[1] Middoth ii. 5. [2] Lightfoot, p. 311. [3] Lightfoot, p. 220. [4] Middoth ii. 1.

importance. It is sufficient for us to know that the Rabbis were aware that there was a greater space inside the court on the south than on the north side of the central line of the Temple and Altar. They knew, consequently, that, as the two gates of the Women's Court, Shushan and Nicanor, were opposite to each other, and centred on the line of the Altar and the Temple, this court itself being shorter, and having these two gates in its centre, the position of its centre could not coincide with that of the inner court, but must be farther north.

There does not seem to be any doubt that Dr. Lightfoot was quite correct in considering the Women's Court as that which is called the Treasury in the New Testament, and that it received this designation because in it were placed the treasure chests in which the people deposited their contributions towards the objects for which each of these was appropriated. "The treasuries of the Temple," he says, "were of a twofold nature and capacity—namely, treasure chests and treasure chambers. The former were called Shopheroth, the latter Lesacoth, and both bore the general name of Corban."[1] There were thirteen of the former class, and all, apparently, placed in the Court of the Women, to which persons of both sexes were admitted, while women were jealously excluded from the inner Temple; and there were certainly two of the latter class, whose position has already been pointed out—one on the north side of the inner court, and one on the north of the Court of the Women, over the two angle apartments.[2]

Although the upper and inner court was by far the more important, and in the eyes of the Jews by far the more sacred, to Christians the Court of the Women is even more interesting, as it was within its precincts that nearly all the events took place which are alluded to in the New Testament. It is, however, almost certain that "the tables of the moneychangers, and the seats of them that sold doves,"[3] were in the Court of the Gentiles—probably in the great thoroughfare of the southern Stoa. But it was in the Court of the Women that Christ "sat over against the treasury," and saw the people cast in money, and saw a widow throw in "two mites,"[4] which she could only have done in a place to which women were admitted. It was also here that John represents Jesus speaking "in the treasury, as he taught in the temple."[5]

It was in the inner gate of this court, called the Beautiful (Nicanor), that Peter and John healed the lame man, and, when the astonished crowd followed them, took refuge in Solomon's Porch close at hand, and there preached to the people in the words quoted in the 3rd chapter of the Acts of the Apostles. It was the accusation that Paul had introduced a stranger into this court[6] which led

[1] Lightfoot, p. 313.

[2] Josephus' mention of the Treasuries in the plural—*πρὸ τῶν γαζοφυλακίων*—in speaking of the porticos of the inner court of the Temple (B. J. v. 5, 2) may either be considered as indicating that there were more treasuries than one in the inner Temple, or, what seems to me more probable, that he referred to the porticos in both courts, though I admit that a literal adherence to the text will hardly bear that interpretation.

[3] Matt. xxi. 12; Mark xi. 15; John ii. 14, 15.

[4] Mark xii. 41; Luke xxi. 1.

[5] John viii. 20.

[6] Acts xxi. 28.

to the tumult and to the important series of events which are narrated in the 21st and subsequent chapters of the Acts of the Apostles. Now that the plan of the place is known, it is easy to follow these events topographically. The chamber where the four went to have their heads shaved and be purified was, without doubt, the chamber of the Nazarites in the north-west angle of the court. The castle was the Antonia, and the tumult may have taken place in the northern Court of the Gentiles, between these two places. It is more probable, however, that the tumult took place in the city, for it is said, "They took Paul, and drew him out of the temple; and forthwith the doors were shut."[1] This cannot be applied to the inner Temple, as there is no evidence that Paul ever entered it; they must consequently have expelled him by the western Parbar Gate, and then sought to kill him in the city. This also is more consonant with what we now know of the localities, for the soldiers ran *down*, from the castle, to rescue him, and bore him into the Antonia, where he addressed the multitude from the "stairs," leading apparently from the Gabbatha to the Judgment Hall of the fortress; in the very same localities in which the most important scenes of Christ's Passion had been previously enacted.

It is, perhaps, hardly necessary to say more at present with regard to the form or measurements of the courts of the Temple; enough has been said to explain the authorities from which these forms have been gathered and their measurements ascertained. To go beyond this would be tedious, and could only lead to disquisitions which are interesting to very few, and only intelligible to those who are intimately familiar with the writings of the Rabbis, and with the wonderful mysticism they threw over all that was connected with their lost Temple or its ceremonial. As drawn on the plan, Plate II., the Temple speaks for itself. Any one with the Bible, Josephus or the Talmud in his hand can follow on the plan what is said in these works, and understand it, if it agrees with what is written, or reject it if he finds it does not accord; and this is all that can be expected or required of a treatise like the present. The restoration of the Temple itself is a matter of more general interest, but, it must also be confessed, of greater difficulty; but to this we must now turn, and try to find out how far the materials requisite for this purpose are available, or how they can best be utilised, so as to reproduce the forms of this celebrated building.

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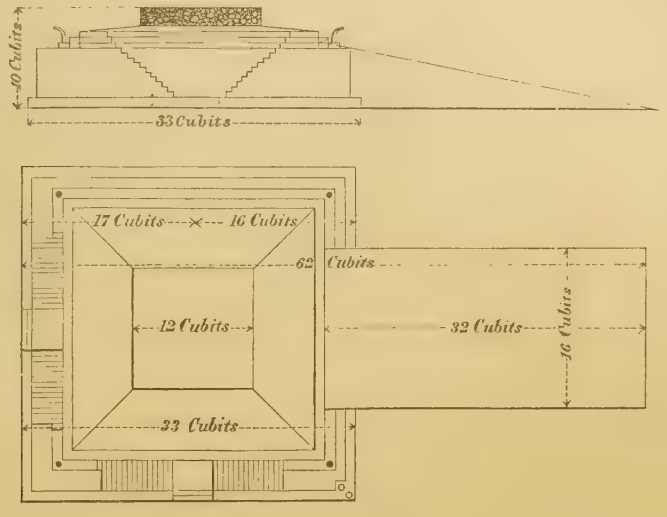
[1] Acts xxi. 30.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ALTAR AND THE TEMPLE IN PLAN.

Thanks to the minute care with which it is described in the 3rd chapter of the Middoth, there is very little difficulty in understanding the general form and dimensions of the Altar, though some of its details, as given by the Rabbis, can hardly be accepted without modification.



21.—Plan and Elevation of the Altar.

The base of the Altar was 32 cubits square and 1 cubit in height. Within this stood the platform, 30 cubits square and 5 cubits in height, thus bringing the surface of the platform to the same level as the floor of the Temple. The same level is attained by Ezekiel, but in a different manner. He makes the basement 2 cubits, and the rise 4 cubits,[1] together 6 cubits, as in the Middoth. The basement again receded 1 cubit all round, leaving a space of 1 cubit between the 13th and 14th cubits from the centre, in which were fixed what were called

[1] Ezekiel xliii. 14.

the "horns" of the Altar. Their number is not given in the Middoth, nor their height, but they seem to have been the posts to which victims were bound when prepared for sacrifice on the altar. Ezekiel, however, distinctly specifies their number as four,[1] one, it is presumed, at each angle, and so they are represented in the woodcut. Whether the place of the horns was on the level of the platform, or 1 cubit higher, we are not told; but the context appears to necessitate a rise here, making the place of the horns 7 cubits from the ground. Within this was, first, the place for "the feet of the priests, one cubit," and the remainder, 24 cubits square, was called the hearth. We are not told how these two were distinguished from one another, but my impression is, that the place on which the priests stood was raised 1 cubit above the place of the horns, and the hearth again 1 cubit above that. Such an arrangement would be, at least, convenient, but some other means may have been adopted for marking the distinction. Within the hearth—in its centre—stood the Altar, properly so called, like that described in Ezekiel, 12 cubits square,[2] and probably 2 or 3 feet in height. If it were higher, it is difficult to see how it could be served by priests standing on the hearth. The whole height was almost certainly 10 cubits from the ground, as that is the height of Solomon's Altar,[3] and apparently also of Ezekiel's;[4] but however this may be protracted, it comes so near to that dimension, that it may confidently be asserted it must have been attained. It is also the height we should infer from Josephus' statement that the altar was 50 cubits square by 15 in height. The first dimension can be proved to be one of his usual exaggerations by turning feet into cubits. The Altar certainly was 33 cubits square, as we shall presently see, or as nearly as may be 50 feet, and as he calls this 50 cubits, we may feel confident that, as in the case of the gates above pointed out, it was one-third less, and if this is so on plan, we may feel sure the same exaggeration was made as to the height. The most distinct testimony, however, on this point is that of Hecatæus. He distinctly states that the height of the Altar was 10 cubits,[5] and his testimony appears, in almost every instance, to be more trustworthy than that of Josephus himself.

Before going farther, it may be necessary to allude to a difficulty which has proved a stumbling-block to many commentators. The Altar, it is said, and the sloping ascent to it, were built of stones which no iron tool had touched—natural, unhewn stones from the valley of Bethcerem.[6] The sloping ascent may have been so constructed—though I doubt it—but the platform with its perpendicular walls, its drains to convey the blood of the victims to the valley of Kidron, its steps and other complicated arrangements, could not possibly have been constructed without the mason's aid. What seems necessary here is to make a distinction between the altar on which the victims were burnt and the platform on which that altar

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[1] Ezekiel xliii. 15. [2] Ezekiel xliii. 16. [3] 2 Chron. iv. 1. [4] Lightfoot, p. 393.
[5] Josephus contra Apion. i. 22. [6] Middoth iii. 4.

stood. For the latter such an arrangement was not only feasible, but appropriate. A platform 3 or 4 feet high, built of cannon-balls of cast iron, would be, now, the best mode of construction we could suggest. To light and maintain a fire on a solid floor would always be a difficulty, but a platform erected with rounded stones or spherical bodies of any sort, so placed as to allow a draught of air through their interstices, would admit of this being done to perfection, and was, no doubt, what was attempted.

In the description of the Altar in the Middoth [1] there is one point which it seems, at first sight, a little difficult to explain. When the children of the Captivity came up, it is said they added 4 cubits to the north and 4 cubits to the west of the Altar, like a Greek gamma, Γ. The addition was made apparently to the 26 cubits where the level space commenced, and it consequently made the distance from the centre 17 cubits north and west, while it was only 16 cubits south and east from the centre. The motive of this addition seems clear enough. There was only one approach, according to the Rabbis, to the Altar, by the sloping ascent on the south side; but as all the business of the Altar was done on the north side, it seems absurd to suppose that everything was to be carried round, and that no means of access to the platform of the Altar should exist where it was most wanted and was most convenient. No ascent was wanted in the east. On the south there existed the sloping ascent up which the victims were no doubt driven, but which was not particularly convenient for the priests. But on the west towards the Temple, and on the north towards the shambles, there must have been means of access, and it was to provide these, probably in the manner shown in the plan, that the Altar was enlarged on these two faces. As to the reason the Rabbis give, that there were no steps up to the Altar, but only an inclined plane, it is too absurd to bear a moment's investigation, and is one of those misquotations which occur too frequently in the Talmud. It is there said, quoting Exodus xx. 26, that "neither shalt thou go up by steps unto mine altar, that thy nakedness be not discovered thereon." This may have applied to a priest stooping down, with his back to the people, to serve on some form of altar we do not quite understand, but can have no application to a person ascending lateral steps to a platform on which the Altar stood. If this were so, no one could enter the Temple without indecency, for the steps leading up to the Chel were higher and as steep, while those ascending them turned their backs on the people below, which was not the case with those ascending sideways to the platform of the Altar.

It is not quite clear why the "two openings like nostrils," [2] through which the blood spilt on the Altar flowed to the brook of Kidron, were placed at the south-west, instead of the south-east, angle of the Altar, the latter being nearer the outlet than the former. It probably was for some convenience in forming a

[1] Middoth iii. 1. [2] Middoth iii. 2.

channel underground, or for the flushing of the sewer by water from Etam; but it is of little consequence to discuss, what only interests us as a fact, which is not only distinctly asserted by our only authority, but is confirmed by this being, in all probability, the "Lapis Pertusus" of the Jews in the time of Constantine,[1] on which, as will be afterwards explained, the Aksa was centred by the Mahomedans. But, be that as it may, it is sufficient for us to know that it was at the south-west angle that this precious stone was placed, and that those channels which have been found cut in the rock under the Triple Gateway are those by which the refuse of the Altar passing through these holes was discharged from the Temple precincts, and either utilised as manure or allowed to run to waste.

The space north of the Altar, measuring about 40 cubits square, was devoted, as already pointed out, to its service. The victims were apparently first tethered to the rings, and were either slaughtered there or on the hearth while attached to the horns of the Altar. If this were so, however, there must have been two modes of sacrifice, for those skinned and cut up at "the tables" could not be the same as those slain on the Altar and burned in its fires. Or was it that all were slaughtered below, and their carcasses carried up afterwards to be burned on the Altar? These, however, are questions that do not belong to the architectural arrangements, with which alone we are concerned at present, and their discussion must be left to those who are more familiar with the literature of the subject than I can pretend to be. All that is here attempted is to explain the dimensions and architectural arrangements of the Altar; its ceremonial and uses belong to a totally different branch of the subject, though the conclusions that may be arrived at regarding them will be considerably facilitated by the enquiries on which we are at present engaged, provided the means exist for bringing them to a successful issue.

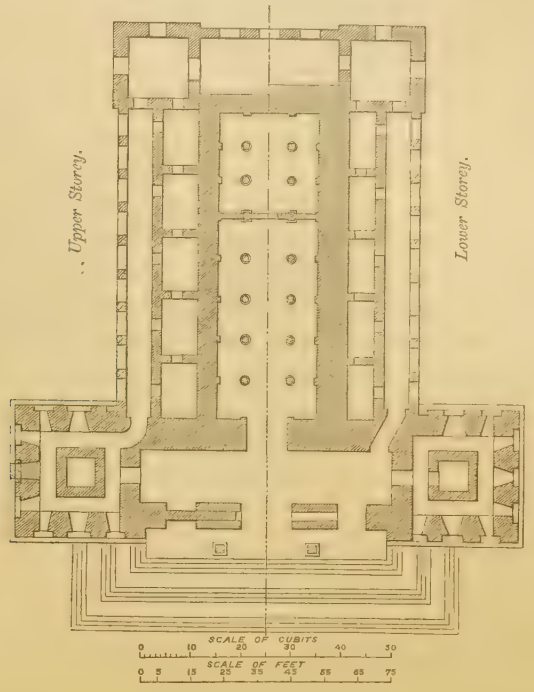
Plan of the Temple.

After what has been said above regarding the plans of Solomon's and Ezekiel's Temples, it is easy to understand the alterations that were made in it when rebuilt in the time of Herod, in so far, at least, as the arrangements connected with the plan are concerned.

The Holy of Holies remained a cube of 20 cubits, and occupied the same place as it had from Solomon's days. The Holy Place was 40 cubits east and west by 20 cubits across, and 30 cubits high, as before. The most marked alteration was in the porch, which was made 11 cubits wide by apparently 50 cubits north and south, bounded on the east by a wall 5 cubits thick, while one 6 cubits in thickness separated it from the Holy Place,

[1] Bordeaux Pilgrim, Tobler's edit. p. 4. Appendix iv.

making 22 cubits in all. These, however, are the dimensions given in the Book of Ezekiel, and, though differing from those of Solomon's Temple, can, consequently, hardly be called innovations. The most important change was, however, extending the width of the façade to 100 cubits, which was certainly 40 cubits in excess of that of Solomon, or of the Temple as erected after the Captivity by Zerubbabel, and 30 cubits, apparently, in excess of that described by Ezekiel. Whether the height was increased in the same proportion is a question we shall have presently to discuss, but it certainly appears *prima facie*



22.—Plan of Herod's Temple.
(Scale, 50 feet to 1 inch.)

that this must have been the case. As Zerubbabel's Temple certainly had a façade the height of which was equal to its width,[1] the presumpton is that the same proportion was adopted here, and that a less height would in this instance have seemed low and disproportioned.

One of the most pleasing features in Herod's Temple was the magnificent flight of steps that led up to its platform from the Court of the Priests. No such

[1] Ezra vi. 3; Josephus, Ant. xv. 11, 1; *ante*, pp. 30 and 66.

perron is mentioned anywhere, as existing in any of the earlier temples, but these are described in their own quaint way in the Middoth, in such detail that there is no reason for doubting their existence, and no difficulty in understanding their form.[1] They were twelve in number, of half a cubit each in height, thus raising the floor of the Temple to the same height as that of the platform on which the Altar stood. The treads were each 1 cubit in breadth, and divided into three flights of four steps, each separated by two landings of 3 cubits each, and leading to a platform in front of the doors of the Temple, 6 cubits in width, as shown in the plans.

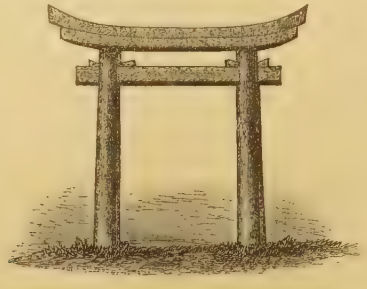
The Toran, or screen bearing the golden vine, which formed the principal ornament of the façade of the Temple, stood on the platform at the top of this flight of steps. It will be described in detail farther on, but, meanwhile, it may suffice to say that it occupied the same position in Herod's Temple that was assigned to the celebrated pillars Jachin and Boaz in Solomon's, and had apparently the same meaning, though what that was remains to be seen.[2]

Whatever may have been the case in the previous temples, the specification of the Talmud is so distinct and reasonable regarding the little chambers that surrounded that of Herod, that it may probably be accepted without hesitation.

According to the Middoth,[3] there were thirty-eight little chambers in all: fifteen on the north and fifteen on the south side, as in Ezekiel's Temple, and eight at the western end. The northern and southern were placed in three storeys five over five, and on the west three over three, and two over them. Even assuming that the number was greater in the earlier Temples—though that is doubtful—this is so consonant with what we should expect from the increased magnificence of the Temple and the increased luxury of the age that

[1] Middoth iii. 6.

[2] In Japan the principal distinction between Buddhist and Shinto temples is that the latter all have in front of them a *toran* consisting of upright pillars in granite, supporting two or more transverse beams in the same material. What they say is that, unless you pass under the *toran* on entering the temple, your prayers would not be listened to.



23.—JAPANESE TORAN. (From an original drawing.)

[3] Middoth iv. 3.

we can hardly refuse to accept it, especially as it is so contrary to the usual spirit of the Talmud to admit of such a change. The whole confusion, in fact, seems to have arisen from a misconception of Josephus, who seems to have blundered with regard to the number and height of those chambers to an extent which is almost inconceivable in any one who had really seen the building while it was still standing.

As the walls of the house were of the very unusual and unnecessary thickness of 6 cubits (9 feet) at their base, there seems no reason for doubting that these chambers were increased by offsets of 1 cubit each, as in the old Temple; and that though the lower rooms were only 5 cubits wide, the upper were 7 cubits, and, with the dimensions in length now ascribed to them, made really habitable apartments. A more difficult question is to ascertain how they communicated with one another. Here the descriptions of the Talmud, as of Ezekiel, are wholly unintelligible. A gallery gradually rising from the north-eastern to the south-eastern seems impossible, as it would be on the level of the floors only at the ends, and would cut across all the doors and windows of all the cells. Equally absurd is the specification that each chamber had three doors, two leading to the chambers right and left, and one to the chamber above it. The probability is that the third door was described by the authority from whom this quotation was taken as opening on a gallery from which access might be had to the upper storeys.

As neither the Bible, nor the Talmud, nor Josephus has left us any intelligible account of how these chambers were reached, we are left very much to our own skill and ingenuity to devise such means as seem reasonable and appropriate, and which at the same time do not contradict, even if they do not explain, such hints as we find in our usual authorities. So far as I understand the matter, the principal ascent was in one or both of the towers which formed the extension of the façade beyond the width of the porch; and, as it seems to have been remarkable for its ingenuity and magnificence,[1] I presume it occupied the whole area of the tower, and in that case must have been by an inclined plane till at least it reached the level of the upper storey of chambers. Its being so, is what seems to have misled the Rabbis into the idea that it extended all round the house, instead of being only round a chamber in the interior of the tower. On each storey it seems to have opened into a gallery. This the Talmud and Ezekiel would lead us to suppose was closed, externally, by a solid wall, but this is so contrary to commonsense and architectural propriety that I have represented it—as was done in describing Ezekiel's Temple (*ante*, page 60)—as an open verandah. Both for convenience and for beauty this would be so

[1] Josephus, Ant. viii. 3, 2. This course applies in strictness only to Solomon's Temple, but we are never sure when Josephus is speaking of Solomon's Temple that he is not describing Herod's, and, *vice versa*, in speaking of Herod's that he is not raking up some tradition that belongs to the earlier Temple.

infinitely preferable that I cannot fancy the architect of the Temple would be so unskilful as not to adopt it. But whether this is the true explanation or not, the arrangement shown on the plan is the one which, so far as I can form an opinion, most nearly meets all the exigencies of the case as at present known, and may consequently be allowed to stand till some better is suggested.

At one time I was inclined to believe that the ascent existed only in one of these towers, that on the north-east; and if it were wanted only to give access to the little chambers, that would have been ample. But if there was an important upper chamber to the Temple—and, as we shall presently see, that hardly admits of being doubted—the existence of ascents in both towers seems almost indispensable, while at the same time it is difficult to account for the existence of these shoulders or wings unless they were intended to contain them.

If this were so, there would, of course, be no difficulty in communicating with the little chambers in the north and south, and even with those in the west, without making them thoroughfares. It also gets over a difficulty in the earlier Temples, which otherwise it is not easy to explain. If, as hinted above, it is probable there were no chambers at the west end of Ezekiel's or Zerubbabel's Temple, the inclined plane of the Rabbis becomes impossible, and access could only be obtained by two staircases. At the same time we know, from the minuteness with which the dimensions of the Temple east and west are specified in the Middoth, that no gallery existed at the west end, even in Herod's Temple. To introduce it there, it would be necessary to extend the dimensions of the Temple beyond 100 cubits, which, it need hardly be said, is impossible. The conclusion, consequently, seems inevitable, that there were ascents in both the wings, and that they gave access not only to the little chambers by their gallery or verandah, but also to the upper room, or Alijah, which, as we shall presently see, formed, in all probability, one of the most important parts of the Temple.

24.—SECTION OF HEROD'S TEMPLE.
(Scale, 25 feet to 1 inch.)

CHAPTER VII.

THE TEMPLE IN ELEVATION.

PLATES III. AND IV.

WHEN from the ground plan and its dimensions we turn to the elevation and the height of the Temple we find a far less satisfactory state of affairs, and fewer means of testing the evidence that is put before us. Indeed, so contradictory and improbable are many of the statements regarding the height, that any one might feel perfectly justified in rejecting them altogether, and assuming that a restoration is impossible from existing data. Except the height of the two original apartments of the old Temple—the Holy of Holies and the Holy

Place—there are no statements of height that may not be disputed or against which plausible arguments may not be advanced, in perfect good faith. Still, I believe that the general dimensions and the appearance of this celebrated building can be made out with fairly approximate certainty. At all events, it is well worth trying to do so; for its interest is unsurpassed, by that of any building in the world, and if it can be done, a restoration of it settles many curious problems which have occupied enquirers for a long time past.

Even the Old Testament hardly helps us here, for it has been, and may be, argued with great show of reason that the figures representing heights in the 2nd Book of Chronicles, are mere duplications of those in the corresponding passages in the Book of Kings,[1] and it seems as if they were purposely made so by the compiler of the Chronicles, after the Captivity, when the memory of the old Temple had nearly passed away, in order to elevate the priesthood and their Temple in the eyes of the people, which has been advanced as one at least of the main objects of his compilation.[2]

It certainly is most improbable that Solomon's Temple should have been 120 cubits high with the other dimensions given, and there is nothing whatever in the dimensions of the Tabernacle to warrant such a height. We may, however, probably feel sure that the dimensions at least of the façade of the Temple as rebuilt by Zerubbabel were 60 cubits in width and 60 cubits in height.[3] And, as pointed out above (page 30), it seems a perfectly fair inference that these were the dimensions of the façade of Solomon's Temple, and also, if there was an upper room to it, that the ridge of its roof also attained the height of 60 cubits, as shown on the right-hand side of woodcut No. 5. If this is so, we may also conclude that, when the dimensions of the façade were extended to 100 cubits in width, as they were in Herod's time, that the height too should be equally augmented. Anything, indeed, less than this for a frontispiece would have looked squat and out of proportion. Whether the body of the building could or could not be stretched to the same extent is a question we shall presently have to discuss. At present it is sufficient to state that it does not seem either possible or necessary.

Neither do I think any stress can be laid on Josephus' assertion that Solomon's Temple was 120 cubits in height. That building had been destroyed 600 years before he wrote, and practically he had no more means of knowing what it was like than we have; indeed, his whole description of it, in the 8th book of his 'Antiquities' is characterised by exaggeration and misstatements to a greater extent than almost any other part of his work. When, however, he comes to describe what was said and done by Herod, he is speaking of what was fairly within his own cognisance, and there is an amount of detail, in what he reports of Herod's

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[1] 2 Chron. iii. 4, 15; 1 Kings vii. 3, 15. [2] Speaker's Commentary, Introduction to Book of Chronicles.
[3] Ezra vi. 3, 4; 1 Esdras vi. 25.

speech,[1] the results of which he himself was familiar with, that looks very like evidence, that could not well be put aside, unless by his own default. Notwithstanding this, in his description of the Temple in the 'Wars of the Jews,' he makes some statements with regard to height which would invalidate his evidence in any court of law. He there states that "around the lower part of the Temple there were a number of small houses, in three storeys, the combined height of which amounted to 60 cubits, but the upper part of the Temple had no such little houses, because it was there narrower and 40 cubits higher." "Thus," he adds, "we gather that the whole height, including the 60 cubits from the floor, amounted to 100 cubits."[2] Now, it need hardly be pointed out that a chamber which, according to Josephus, was only 5 or 6 cubits square on the floor, yet 20 cubits in height, is a monstrosity that never, so far as I know, was committed. Besides this, in that situation it not only would have blocked up the clerestory windows of the Holy Place, but extended 20 or 30 cubits in front of the upper chamber, and prevented its having windows, except above that height. The truth of the matter seems to be, clearly, that the three storeys of little chambers were 20 cubits high, in the aggregate, and why Josephus should have multiplied this number by three is inconceivable. He knew the place, and must have known that it was only the frontispiece that reached the height of 100 or 120 cubits. As the Rabbis express it, "The sanctuary was narrow (and low) behind and broad in front, like a lion;"[3] and, knowing this, it seems strange they should be guilty of such a misrepresentation, unless it was to make it appear that the back of the house was of the same height as the front. It is evident from this statement that Josephus believed some part was of that height, but how he could have forgotten which, and what was the real form of the house, is one of those puzzles we may never be able to solve. Whatever form the restoration may take, it seems perfectly certain that Josephus was wrong in saying that the height of these three storeys of chambers, and consequently that of the lower house, was 60 cubits. We may say we know certainly that it was only half that, or 30 cubits—the height, in fact, of the Holy of Holies—and consequently that the Talmud is correct when it gives the height of the three storeys of chambers as 20 cubits (5+6+7,[4] plus the thickness of the two intermediate floors, say, 2 cubits). If it was, as we understand it, that there was a frontispiece 100 or 120 cubits high, with a lower building behind it, why could not Josephus say so? He knew the building, and knew its proportions, and its glory was as great in the one form as in the other. He apparently thought it would sound grander if he represented the whole as attaining the extreme dimension he gives, and he consequently falsified the real dimensions to the extent just stated.

As the Talmudists never saw the building, and, as I have frequently had occasion to remark before, had no plan or section, and were incapable of preparing

[1] Ant. xv. 11, 3. [2] B. J. v. 5, 3. [3] Middoth iv. 7. [4] Middoth iv. 4.

one, we need not wonder that they blundered as to heights. They knew, or at least believed, that the Temple was 100 cubits wide, 100 high, and 100 long, but, as is expressed in the passage just quoted, they knew that the first two dimensions applied only to the façade, and were aware that it was narrower behind, though it strangely did not occur to them that it might also be lower there also. It did not, however, and they consequently set to work to make out the height as explained in the 4th chapter of the Middoth and the 6th section, thus :—

Lower Storey.	Cubits.
The foundation	6
The wall	40
The string course	1
The rain channel	2
The beam	1
The covering plaster	1
	51
	49
	100 cubits.

Upper Storey.	Cubits.
Upper storey	40
String course	1
Rain channel	2
Beam	1
Plaster	1
Battlements	3
Scarecrow	1
	49 cubits.

From this it will be perceived that the one storey is merely an ill-understood duplication of the other, the thickness of the roof supplying what is required to be added in order to balance the foundations in the other. But even then it cannot for one moment be tolerated that the Holy Place should be made 40 cubits instead of 30, which we may feel assured was its true dimension. Still less can it be admitted that the upper chamber, assuming there was one, should be 40 cubits in height while its width was only 20 cubits. Though not quite so gross an exaggeration as that of Josephus with respect to the little chambers, it is so bad that it cannot be admitted.

From the above it seems tolerably evident that none of our three authorities are likely to be of much use to us in our attempts to recover the dimensions of the elevation of the Temple. There is only one point on which they are all agreed, which is that the Temple, or some part of it at least, was 100 or 120 cubits in height; and the problem that is consequently left to us, is to try if we can construct an elevation which shall provide in a reasonable manner for all the parts of the Temple as known to us, and at the same time be consonant with the principles of the style of architecture then practised in Judæa, and without being offensive or extravagant, though it may turn out to have been strange and unlike any other building we are acquainted with in antiquity.

As said above, my impression is that it can be done, or, at all events, that it is worth trying to do it, for its interest is extreme, and we have now probably all the data for this attempt in as complete a state as they are likely ever to be available for the purpose.

Alijah, or Upper Room.

Among the various questions that a restoration of the Temple, when fairly grappled with, gives rise to, few have been so much overlooked and neglected as those connected with the Alijah, or upper room, which certainly existed over the two lower apartments of the Temple, properly so called. No architectural restoration that I am acquainted with introduces this feature in an intelligible manner, and in no treatise that I have come across is there any attempt made to explain the uses to which it might be applied. Both architects and authors have, in fact, shirked the question, indeed, so far as I can gather, have ignored even its existence. Yet there seems to be no doubt that such a chamber did exist, and it was not put there without some very good reason for its introduction, whatever that may have been.

No synonym for such a feature did or could exist in the Tabernacle, and only one allusion to it, so far as I know, is found in the Old Testament, where it is said that Solomon "overlaid the upper chambers" (of the Temple) "with gold."[1] This cannot, of course, refer to the upper storey of the small houses that surrounded the Temple on three sides; there was no possible reason why they should be so adorned; and, besides, the context shows that it was not to them that the chronicler was alluding, but to something at least nearly equal in dignity and importance to the holy house itself, described in the preceding verses.

One perplexing circumstance is that it is not alluded to by Ezekiel, as we might expect it would be if it formed an essential part of Solomon's Temple; but such evidence is too negative in its character to be of much weight in determining a question of this sort. On the other hand, Josephus is quite distinct on this point, though his evidence as regards Solomon's Temple must be received with very considerable caution. He first describes the lower Temple as 60 cubits in length, 20 cubits in breadth, while its height was equal to its length, or 60 cubits. As usual, he is quite correct in plan, but his height is also, as usually, an exaggeration by duplication. He then proceeds to state that there was another building erected over it of the same dimensions, so that the entire altitude was 120 cubits,[2] which there is every reason for supposing is also a duplication, the probable height being, as above explained in woodcut No. 5, equal to 60 cubits, including the upper room. In the 'Wars of the Jews,' he is more moderate. Still, however, making the lower apartment double its true height, or 60 cubits, he allows only 40 cubits for the upper room, making the whole height 100 cubits.[3] The real height from the floor of the lower Temple to the roof of the upper room, I believe to have been 50 cubits, as shown in the section woodcut No. 24, or just half that height; but of this hereafter.

The Middoth is quite distinct as to the existence of this room, but makes its

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[1] 2 Chronicles iii. 9. [2] Ant. viii. 3, 2. [3] B. J. v. 5, 5.

height 40 cubits, or identical with that of the lower apartments; but the Rabbis were so evidently trying to eke out the whole height of 100 cubits by adding together external and internal measures, and doubling, when necessary, those which are still too small, that no reliance can be placed on their details.[1]

In the Middoth there is, however, an unconscious testimony to the correctness of these views, all the more valuable because it is unconscious. If the Holy of Holies was only 20 cubits in height, and the Holy Place 30 cubits, it is evident that, if a level floor were carried east and west over the whole 60 cubits, there would be left a void or *entresol* some 10 cubits in height over the Sanctuary, to which access could only be obtained, either from the Holy of Holies itself or from the Holy Place, by ladders, which would enable workmen ascending them to look into the most holy place over the screen in front of it. As this could not possibly have been tolerated, the Middoth tells us that means of access were provided by trap-doors in the floor of the Alijah, through which the workmen were let down in chests.[2] From this it seems clear that, if this level floor had not been made, this useless void would not have existed, and the trap-doors would have had no meaning.

Although, therefore, there seems no reasonable doubt of the existence of such a chamber, certainly in Herod's Temple, and most probably in Solomon's also, it is very difficult to ascertain to what use it could have been applied. This uncertainty, I fancy, in a great measure arises from the fact that none of the learned Rabbis who, at least in modern times, have devoted themselves to the study of the subject, have had the fact of its existence brought prominently before them. The subject has, by common consent, been put aside, and no one has consequently looked for any explanation that may exist in the Talmud or elsewhere. Perhaps none is to be found; but even then this would be no argument against the fact of its existence; for, by a parity of reasoning, no one doubts the existence of the little chambers surrounding the house itself, though none of our usual authorities hint at the use to which they were applied. Notwithstanding this, it seems hardly open to doubt that they were the residences of the Levites or priests, whose special duty it was to attend to the Temple and its services; and if this were so, one suggestion, at least, seems to be, that the upper room may have been the *cœnaculum*, or great hall of the monastery, where the quasi-monks met for social or liturgical purposes.

In studying attentively the arrangements of the Temple, there is nothing more remarkable than the total absence of any hall or covered place that could be used for synagogal or congregational purposes. The Holy Place was too crowded with other objects, and had, besides, no *bema* and no desks, or any fittings suited for the reading of the law, the chanting of the Psalms, or any liturgical purpose whatever. Yet we cannot but believe that some sort of daily service was

[1] Middoth iv. 6.

[2] Middoth iv. 5.

performed in the Temple, which afterwards was modified into that used in the provincial synagogues at a subsequent period, and it is as difficult to believe that all the Temple services were performed in the open air. Besides this, it seems generally to be admitted that there was a great synagogue—the "great congregation" of the Book of Maccabees[1]—"consisting of the priests, and people, the rulers of the nation and elders of the country," and that they had their meeting-place in the Temple; but where they met, no one yet has pointed out. It was not, apparently, in the room Gazith, as some have supposed;[2] that was appropriated to the use of the Sanhedrim, and, so far as I can gather, used for no other purpose; but if there was a Temple-synagogue, or anything of that nature holding its meetings in the Temple, no place could be so appropriate as this Alijah. This will, of course, be met by the objection of the Rabbis, that no one was allowed to sit in the courts of the Temple unless he were "one of the Kings of the House of David."[3] Like many of the statements, however, of the Talmud, this must be received with caution. Numbers of priests and Levites slept in the Temple every night, and if the small chambers round the Temple were really residences, which seems almost certain, their occupants not only sat, but slept, and in fact lived, in these cells; and where men may live, others may surely meet and deliberate, even sitting. Be this as it may, the suggestion that this Alijah was the meeting hall of the great synagogue,[4] consisting of 120 persons or more, seems to me to meet the exigencies of the case more than any other; but I merely offer it as a suggestion which may be left for future investigation. Meanwhile, what would assist us most in our enquiries would be the discovery of some temple, or group of temples, having little cells and arrangements somewhat similar to those at Jerusalem. Except the Birs Nimroud, however, no temple is known having cells in two or three storeys; but the other arrangements of that temple[5]—at least, so far as we know them—are so unlike those at Jerusalem that very little assistance is to be obtained from that source. The buildings most like the Jewish Temple are probably the Buddhist viharas of India. These consist of large halls surrounded by cells in from one to seven and even a greater number of storeys in height. The central halls seem always to have been used as the places of liturgical assembly of the monks, to the exclusion, probably, of the laity, and in more modern times became image halls or places of idolatrous worship, though in earlier days seem to have been wholly adapted to synagogal purposes. It may, at first sight, seem absurd to compare things so far apart, and, in some respects, so dissimilar; but it must be borne in mind that no two sects, both in their tenets and their practices, were more similar to one another than the Buddhists and the Essenes, and that

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[1] Maccabees xiv. 28.

[2] Herzfeld, Geschichte des Volkes Israel, vol. i. pp. 380 *et seqq.* Edersheim, Sketches of Jewish Life, chap. xvi. p. 249 *et seqq.*

[3] Lightfoot, p. 338.

[4] Herzfeld, Geschichte des Volkes Israel, vol. i. pp. 380 *et seqq.*

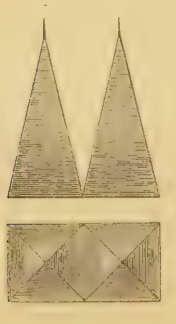
[5] See my History of Architecture, vol. i. p. 153, woodcuts 48, 49.

the latter, with the Pharisees and Sadducees, made up the hierarchy of the Jewish priesthood at the time of the rebuilding of the Temple by Herod.

An objection is sure to occur to most people, that none but priests could enter the inner court of the Temple, and consequently that the Alijah was unsuitable for synagogal purposes. In order to meet this I have provided a small door in the basement of the south tower, by which access could be obtained to it from the Court of the Men of Israel without entering that of the priests at all.[1] At one time I drew it with an important entrance above the basement, and with a flight of twelve steps leading up to it; and I do not feel at all sure now that this is not the correct view to take of it; but as no mention of these steps or of this entrance is made anywhere, I have refrained from introducing it in the illustrations. The mode, however, in which this tower and its entrance are centred on the central, and consequently principal, entrance into the inner Temple, from the Court of the Gentiles, justifies, even if it does not demand, such an arrangement. An entrance is certainly wanted here to satisfy the architectural exigencies of the design. Whether or not it should be more important than that I have drawn, may be left for future consideration.

Roof.

The next feature in this restoration, which consists in covering the Temple with a steep roof 20 cubits in height, is one which will probably give rise to more adverse criticism than any other part of the design; yet I do not see how it can be avoided. In the first place, it gets rid of a difficulty which no one has yet fairly faced. In his description of the building, Josephus says, "On its top it had spikes with sharp points to prevent any pollution of it by birds sitting upon it."[2] That this was not a mere random assertion is proved by the fact that in the last days of the siege it is narrated that the priests who had taken refuge in the Temple "plucked up the spikes that were upon it with their bases, which were of lead, and hurled them at the Romans instead of darts"[3] — a piece of incidental evidence that appears quite sufficient to confirm the former statement. Assuming this, therefore, to be the case, let any one try to cover a whole flat roof with spikes, so that the birds shall not settle upon it. Supposing they are placed 6 inches apart, it would be a perfect paradise for sparrows and little birds and even pigeons to build their nests in. All the dust and leaves that



25.—SPIKES ON RIDGE AND CORNICES OF TEMPLE.

[1] Frontispiece and Plan, c. 21. [2] B. J. v. 5, 6. [3] B. J. vi. 5, 1.

were blown about in high winds would settle there, while no one could get upon it to sweep or clean it. Along a ridge or a parapet spikes of a pyramidal form, say 6 or 9 inches wide at base, and a cubit or more in height, might prevent birds settling there; but on a flat roof it seems impossible to arrange them so as to afford the required protection. Nothing, however, is more probable, from what we know of their love of ceremonial purity, than that the Jews should desire this protection; but I, at least, do not know of any means by which they could attain it, except by making the roof so steep that birds could not rest upon it.

The Rabbis seem to have been aware that the roof of the Temple was not flat, though they had no idea, apparently, that it was so steep as shown in the illustrations (woodcut No. 24, and Plates III. and IV.). Constantine l'Empereur quotes a Rabbi, Schemeja, as saying that the roof was inclined upwards till its crest equalled the height of the parapet.[1] It was, according to him, what Vitruvius calls *depluviatum*, and he brings forward a considerable amount of evidence to prove the existence of a ridge, though he understood this, apparently, to be only such as might exist in any classical temple. There is, however, a passage in Josephus which seems very nearly to settle the question. When Herod undertook to rebuild the Temple, he is reported "to have taken away the old foundations, and to have erected a temple 100 cubits in length and 20 additional cubits in height, which 20 on the sinking of their foundations fell down, and this it was we determined to replace in the time of Nero."[2] The passage seems corrupt, and difficult to translate literally; but the above appears to be what is meant, and as such has hitherto formed a stumbling-block to all commentators. It seems impossible, in the first place, to understand how the foundations of a building standing on the natural rock could sink; and if they did, why the whole building, and not only the "20 additional cubits," should require re-erection. The solution of the mystery is, I believe, to be found in a passage farther on, where it is narrated "that John abused the sacred materials, and employed them in the construction of his engines of war. For the people and the priests had determined to shore up the Temple and raise it 20 cubits higher, for King Agrippa had, at a very great expense, brought together such materials as were proper for such a purpose, being pieces of timber very well worth seeing for their straightness and largeness," &c.[3] From this it would appear that it was a wooden roof or tower of 20 cubits height that failed, not one of stone, and therefore wood only was required for its reconstruction. Taken literally, it would appear as if it were only the roofs of the towers of the façade to which this description would apply, and it may be so; but these are too insignificant, and would be so easily repaired that it is not likely they would be mentioned twice and in such detail. It must have been for the repairs of the main roof of the building, that such

[1] L'Empereur, p. 162. [2] Ant. xv. 11, 3. [3] B. J. v. 1, 5.

extensive preparations were made; but in most of Josephus' statements about the holy house there is a degree of confusion difficult to understand. All, therefore, that can well be contended for here is that these twenty additional cubits refer to the wooden structure of a roof; and if this is so, there is no *a priori* improbability in the suggestion here put forward. In so far, at least, as I can form an opinion on the subject, this plan meets the difficulties of the case more completely than any other I am acquainted with.

With all this, however, we only reach 80 cubits in height for the main body of the building, which is an impossible halting-place. It would have been better to stop at 60, but if we must go on to 100 or 120, it is obviously only in the frontispiece or façade that this can be effected, and there it does not seem difficult. In the first place, the 20-cubit roof, just described, must butt against something. I have suggested an open gallery, not only because it is the only architectural feature that, it seems to me, would be appropriate here, but because there are some events connected with the destruction of the Temple which are difficult of explanation without some such arrangement as this.

Towards the end of the siege, when the Temple was taken, and its courts fully occupied by Roman soldiers, Josephus relates that the priests took refuge in a place which he calls "the wall" (ἐπὶ τὸν τοῖχον), and which he describes as 8 cubits broad. That it was near the roof is certain, because from it they plucked the spikes, as above mentioned, and threw them down on the Roman soldiers, and also because, when the Temple itself was in flames, two of their number, whose names are given, threw themselves down into the flames; the remainder holding out for five days, till, pressed by hunger, they were forced to surrender, and were put to death by Titus' order.[1] It was during this time that a boy was allowed by the soldiers, who pitied his youth, to come down and get a drink, and escaped back to his friends with a can of water, before the soldiers could overtake him.[2]

From these circumstances, it seems evident that there was a gallery in the propylon, where the priests could hold out for five days after the Temple itself was reduced to ashes; and I presume it was open in front, not only because the architectural ordinance appears to demand this, but because there are in Syria a considerable number of churches which seem to be reminiscences of some forgotten buildings or styles. The most typical of these, so far as we know it, is that at Tourmanim.[3] It is true that, according to De Vogüé, this church belongs to the sixth century, but there are others, such as Babouda, in the fifth century, or Kalb Louzeh,[4] which, I fancy, are earlier, which show the same tendency, and, moreover, this type occurs so generally in the East, in subsequent ages, that it seems as if it must have been invented at an early age.

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[1] B. J. vi. 5, 1. [2] B. J. vi. 6, 1. [3] De Vogüé, Syrie Centrale, pl. 130–136.
[4] De Vogüé, Syrie Centrale, pl. 122–129.

It is true, Josephus calls the place "a wall," and says it was 8 cubits broad, but there was no wall, as far as can be made out, of that width in the Temple, and this gallery must have been 11 cubits wide, if we may trust the Talmud; but Josephus' narrative of events is in all instances so much more trustworthy than his statements of facts, that I do not think this discrepancy of much importance in the present instance.

26.—Façade of Church at Tourmanim. (From De Vogüé.)

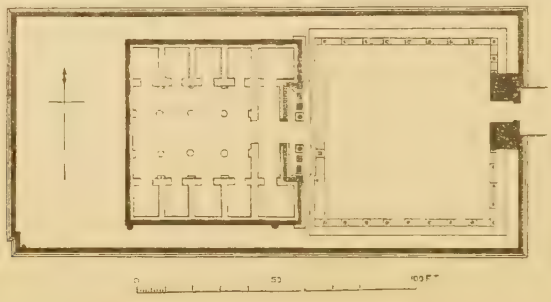
From these elements the elevations of the Temple have been compiled which are shown in Plates III. and IV., and, in perspective, on the frontispiece of this work. The result was unexpected by me, and probably will be to most who look upon it for the first time; but it appears, nevertheless, to be in strict conformity with the various passages I have quoted, and with such local indications as are available. It seems also to afford *a* reasonable answer to all the questions raised in the preceding discussion. Whether it is *the* answer, and the only one that can be given, remains to be decided; but this must be done by others who have studied the question from some other point of view, so as to afford a means of comparison between two different designs.

CHAPTER VIII.

FAÇADE.

BEFORE attempting to restore the architectural features of the façade, it may be as well first to describe in some detail the features of several buildings in Syria the remains of which throw some light on the subject, and may enable us to realise, to some extent at least, the forms we are attempting to reproduce.

Of all those yet brought to light, the small temple of Baalzamin at Siah, in the Hauran, illustrated by De Vogüé in his 'Syrie Centrale,'[1] and partially



27.—PLAN OF TEMPLE OF BAALZAMIN. (From De Vogüé.)[2]

described by him in the 'Recovery of Jerusalem,'[3] but more completely in the text of his own work, would, if slightly more perfect, throw more light on the architecture of the Temple at Jerusalem than any other known building. It bears the same relation to its prototype that a mediæval parish church does to its metropolitan cathedral. From inscriptions upon it, it has been ascertained to be of nearly, at least, the same age, Herod's name and that of the early Agrippas being mentioned in them.[4] It stood at the back of a square court, surrounded by a colonnade which was entered from the east by one gateway of great magnificence, placed unsymmetrically to the main building. Having been used as a fortress at

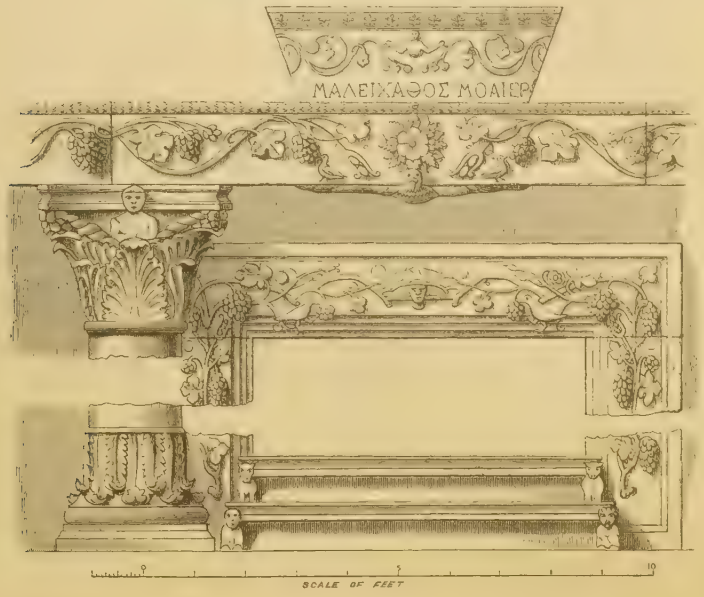
[1] Syrie Centrale, pl. 2, 3.

[2] In the plan in woodcut No. 27, the parts black are taken from De Vogüé's plate. The parts in outline are suggestions of my own, for which there is no direct authority. The restoration of this façade given by De Vogüé, p. 33 of his recently published text, is wholly inadmissible, viewed either from a constructive or an archæological point of view; the substructure would not support the second storey. It is far too weak for that purpose; and the architectural ordinance accords neither with the existing remains, nor with what we know of the style of the day.

[3] Recovery of Jerusalem, pp. 419 *et seqq.*

[4] Syrie Centrale, pp. 35, 36.

some time, the plan of its interior cannot now be well made out; further than that, the façade was flanked by two square tower-like masses, measuring more than 17 feet each way, between which was a deeply recessed *pronaos*, with two pillars between the towers, which seem to have supported a gallery. It is certain, says De Vogüé, that "the sanctuary was of two storeys, if not over the whole surface, at least over the façade";[1] and my impression is, though of course it is difficult to restore a ruined building you have never seen, that the two towers were connected by an open gallery behind the present pillars, which are too



28.—DETAILS OF FAÇADE OF TEMPLE OF BAALZAMIN.

weak and too widely spaced to bear any such superstructure. The ornamentation consists principally of a vine spread over the surface, as, we shall presently see, was the case at Jerusalem; but, curiously enough, there is an eagle, with outstretched wings, under one of the architraves, which recalls the one in Herod's Temple which led to the disturbance that occurred during his last illness.[2] The bases, too, of the pillars have a curious resemblance to what we find at Jerusalem, as they are really inverted capitals, with alternate acanthus and water leaves, very similar to the capital of the monolith in the Huldah Gateway, which formed the southern entrance to the Temple. Altogether, this building, both in its arrangement and its decoration, is so completely a miniature

[1] Recovery of Jerusalem, p. 420. [2] Ant. xvii. 6, 3.

reproduction of the Temple at Jerusalem that whatever is found in it may safely be repeated in the other, the only cause of regret being that so little of it is left standing.

Besides this interesting little building, there is a group of monuments opposite the Temple in the valley of Jehoshaphat, the study of which may afford us some hints for our restoration. The two principal ones are known popularly as the tombs of Absalom and Zacharias, and are monoliths cut out of the rock.

29.—TOMB OF ZACHARIAS, VALLEY OF JEHOSHAPHAT. (From a photograph.)

The southern one, shown in the annexed woodcut, retains apparently its original form unchanged, and consists of a cubical base ornamented with three-quarter Ionic columns on each face, and is surmounted by a plain pyramid, the section of which is an equilateral triangle.[1] The other, the so-called tomb of Absalom, appears to have been originally identical in form, but as the rock was not

[1] A building very like this is represented in Renan's Mission de Phénicie, p. 118. It is two storeys in height, adorned with pilasters at the corners in the lower storey, but with four in each face in the upper one, and the pyramidal roof seems identical with that of these monoliths. Other buildings with similar pyramidal roofs, some even taller than those at Jerusalem, will be found in plates xvi., xvii. and xxxv. of the same work.

sufficiently high here to furnish the requisite pyramid in the same stone, this was added structurally. The consequence was that at some subsequent period—probably in Byzantine times—the pyramid was removed, a sepulchral chamber excavated in the base, and the present, curiously designed terminal added, instead of the simpler form which it replaced. Between these two is a third, of a totally different design, known as the Tomb of St. James, or the Retreat of the Apostles. For whatever purpose it was originally designed, it certainly is now a sepulchre of the usual type found in first-class tombs about Jerusalem, and, like many of these, has an open façade composed of two Doric pillars in Antis.

At the north end of its façade there is a curious tower-like mass cut in the rock, the use and intention of which have never been explained.[1]

30.—TOMB OF ST. JAMES, VALLEY OF JEHOSHAPHAT. (From a photograph.)

The age of the last tomb was ascertained by De Vogüé, from an inscription upon it, to be of the time of Herod,[2] which, indeed, we gather from its architecture, as well as from that of the two others. They could not possibly be before the time of Pompey. As a matter of fact, no trace of stone architecture has yet been found in Syria earlier than the advent of the Romans: and from the style of the so-called Tomb of Jehoshaphat, behind the Pillar of Absalom, and consequently more modern, we may safely assume that, at latest, they belong to the first half—probably the first years—of the first century of our era. They may be earlier, but not later.

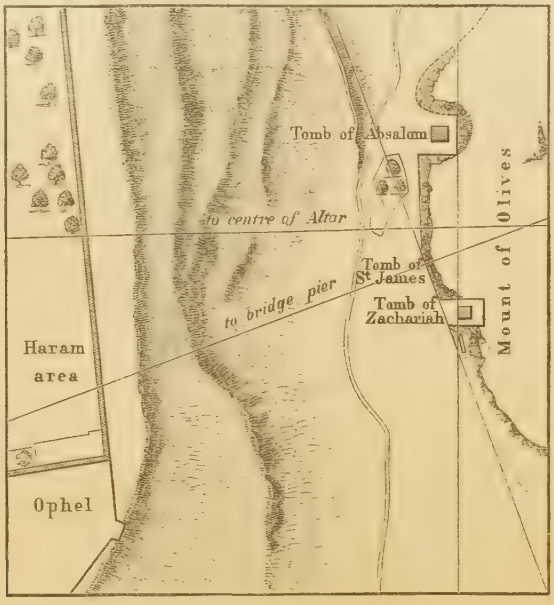
The reasons for believing that this group of monuments is somehow or other

[1] I need hardly say I reject entirely, as purely imaginary, the restorations of these tombs proposed by Las Cassas, and repeated in Munk's Palestine, and elsewhere.

[2] Le Temple de Jérusalem, p. 46.

connected with the Temple are, first, the negative one, that the monoliths were not originally tombs, while it is difficult to conceive what they were, unless some such purpose as this is assigned to them.

The second is that, if the two monoliths are connected by a line perpendicular to their faces, it will run behind the one and in front of the other, and if that line is bisected, and the bisecting line produced at right angles to the original line, it will cut the centre of the Altar. They were not placed exactly in front of the Temple, because apparently there was no suitable mass of rock there, but they were made to face it as nearly as possible.[1]



31.—POSITION OF TOMBS IN VALLEY OF JEHOSHAPHAT. (From Ordnance Survey.)

A third reason is that the distance between the centres of the two monoliths is exactly double that of the two towers of the Temple.

The Tomb of St. James faces more to the south, but if a line be produced perpendicular to the face of the tower on its northern end, this line would fall exactly on the projecting stone which has been assumed to be the beginning of a bridge at 90 feet from the south-east angle of the Haram area.[2] Certainly,

[1] The map from which the woodcut in the text is taken is on so small a scale, 1-2500ths, that the thickness of a line may make a deviation in the direction of several feet or even yards. The woodcut can only therefore be considered as a diagram explanatory of the text. It would require special observation on the spot to verify the statements here made, if the indications were thought of sufficient importance to warrant the trouble.

[2] Recovery of Jerusalem, p. 151.

if there is any trace of the Red Heifer Bridge to be found, it is this. If it be, it was in wood, and must have sloped downwards at a considerable angle; but this, if we may trust Lightfoot, is no objection.[1] Quoting Maimonides, Lightfoot repeats that the arched causeway by which the red heifer was taken across the valley of the Kidron to where she was burnt was called "Kebesh," the name applied to the sloping ascent to the Altar on its south side. In support of this view, it may be remarked that the rectangular sinking in the centre of the tower, near its base, is not and never was intended to be a window. Like one directly below it in the rock, it is a countersinking perfectly adapted for the reception of the end of a wooden beam of a trussed bridge; but if not made for this purpose, it is difficult to guess for what it was intended. The most serious objection to this theory that I am aware of is that the bridge would pass over graves if this excavation was originally filled with *loculi*, as it now is, and the priest could hardly escape ceremonial pollution in passing over them. It may, however, have been that, like the Pillar of Absalom, it was not originally intended to be used as a tomb, and further that these niceties of ceremonial pollution are the invention of a later age, or other means may be found of explaining this. Be this as it may, these coincidences seem so remarkable that they convince me that there was some connexion between these monuments in the valley of Jehoshaphat and the Temple opposite, and though it looks like reasoning in a bad circle, I cannot help believing that these two pinnacles with a colonnade between were somehow or other intended as a reflex of what was found on the western side of this valley.

If this is thought fanciful, it is open to any one to reject it. It seems to me to explain what otherwise is mysterious, but I by no means insist upon it. All I do contend for is, that we have here a group of contemporary monuments, the details of which we are perfectly justified in copying for our restoration of the Temple, even if we cannot prove that they are parts of the same design.

With these new elements, we may now proceed a little further in our restoration of the façade with some confidence. If we could depend on Josephus' dimensions of the internal width of porch—50 cubits[2]—the towers would of course be each 25 cubits square, but the other dimensions he quotes with this—20 cubits for the breadth and 90 cubits for the height internally—are so extravagant that they must be rejected, and little confidence can consequently be placed on the remaining one. By protraction I make it 48 cubits, and the towers consequently 26 cubits each. I willingly would make them project 4 cubits or even 5 cubits beyond the face, not only for the architectural effect, but also to make their faces flush with that of the Toran, or screen; but it is evident the projection can only be 2 cubits, because it seems indispensable that

[1] Lightfoot, p. 394. [2] B. J. v. 5, 4.

the centre of the towers should be in the centre of the court, and opposite the central gateways on either side. Thus, if to the space behind the Temple—11 cubits—we add the Temple—100 cubits—with a projection of 2 cubits, the sum is 113 cubits, from which, if we deduct half the width of the towers, we get 100 cubits, which is the exact sum we require: 26 cubits is also the exact width of the double gateway that led up to this tower from the south.

Admitting these elements, the roof of the central gallery would carry us up to the desiderated height of 100 cubits, and would also get over a difficulty in Josephus' description, not otherwise easy of explanation. He says:—"The outward face of the Temple was covered over with plates of gold, and at the first rising of the sun reflected back a fiery splendour that caused those who looked upon it to turn away."[1] To say that the whole front was so covered, or that even all the "white stone," of which he says it was built, was also gilded, seems absurd. It is, however, reasonable to assume that such roofs as are shown in this design, with the capitals of the pillars, which were probably in metal, may have been gilded, and that such an amount of gilding would justify his rhetorical expressions, and be in perfect accordance with what we may safely believe the splendour of this Temple to have been.

If to these towers we add pyramidal roofs copied from those existing in the valley of Jehoshaphat, we arrive naturally, and, it appears to me, gracefully, at the extreme height—120 cubits—demanded by two at least of our three authorities. It is true the building so designed has more the look of a late Byzantine or mediæval building than anything we would expect at so early an age. We must not, however, run away with the idea that pyramidal roofs or tall buildings were unusual in that age in Syria. In De Vogüé's work alone there are five or six examples given, ranging from the fourth to the sixth centuries,[2] some two-storeyed and generally with pyramidal roofs much steeper than those in the valley of Jehoshaphat. Indeed, my own impression is that the tomb at Soudeideh, which he gives as the oldest building in Syria (first century), had a pyramidal roof like the others. Like the pyramids of Egypt, it is now apparently in steps, but, like them, may originally have had a straight-lined facing. Whether this was so or not, enough remains to show that in the early ages of Christianity such pyramidal terminations were not uncommon, and may very probably have been used in this position.

Though taller than might at first sight be expected, it appears to me that such a design is far from being ungraceful. With the fixed dimensions of 100 cubits in width I have drawn and re-drawn it with a height first of 80 cubits and then 100 cubits, but the result has always been so squat and unpleasing that I have been obliged to abandon these proportions. By introducing flat roofs, and breaking the façade into two masses like the pylons of an Egyptian temple,

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[1] B. J. v. 5, 6. [2] Syrie Centrale, pl. 70, 74, 75, 77.

something might be done in that direction which would not be offensive. The difficulties, however, of making such a design agree with the elements we have, appear to me insuperable; besides that, we have no authority for supposing that in Herod's time the Jews would go to the banks of the Nile for their inspiration, rather than to the quasi-classical styles which the Romans were spreading over the length and breadth of their empire, and which, as we see at Petra and elsewhere, always affected height and many-storeyed magnificence.

Another reason why 120 cubits should be preferred as the total height of this façade, instead of 100 cubits, is that it is so much more consistent with the Jewish system of duplication, so frequently insisted upon in the preceding pages; and from which all the dimensions of Herod's Temple were practically obtained. Thus, it will be recollected that the total height of the Tabernacle was 15 cubits, and this doubled, or 30 cubits, became consequently the height of the Holy Place. This doubled again, or 60 cubits, became the height and width of the façade, and, possibly, also of the Temple itself in Solomon's time. It seems, therefore, more than probable that the architects should aim at doubling this height again in the façade of the last and greatest of their temples.[1] To be quite logical, they ought to have extended the width also to 120 cubits; but as they were restricted, not only by the nature of the locality, but by divine ordinance, to a depth east and west of 100 cubits, such an extension north and south would not only have been useless, but have thrown the whole design out of harmony. Under these circumstances, 100 cubits to the ridge of the roof, and 120 cubits to the summit of the towers, seems such a compromise as Herod's architects were likely to hit upon, and to have been considered by them as carrying out the true principles of their art, and at the same time satisfying the requirements of the divinely ordained dimensions of the Temple.

It must be left to others to decide whether the above is a sufficient solution of the difficulties as to height which have been found so perplexing in the

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[1] The most remarkable attempt that has been made since its destruction to realise the forms or dimensions of the Temple at Jerusalem was by a Cavaliere Antonelli, in a synagogue which he was employed a few years ago to erect in the city of Turin. Not content, however, with the unusual height to which Herod had already carried the façade of his Temple, he resolved to do for it, what Solomon had done for the Tabernacle, and to double or quadruple the dimensions throughout. The 120 cubits of Herod he increased to 240 cubits, or 360 feet, and has already carried the building to two-thirds of that height, and it now only wants 120 feet to complete it. In like manner, the length of the Holy Place in Solomon's as in Herod's Temple was 40 by 20 cubits. He made it 80 cubits square, and, instead of the 40 cubits which, we learn from Josephus and the Talmud, was the reputed height of the Alijah, which his chamber was intended to reproduce, he made it 160 cubits, or four times as much! He did not, of course, dare to attempt to reproduce the Holy of Holies, nor, as I understand it, the Holy Place. His synagogue is an exaggerated Alijah, with dimensions copied and multiplied from the Jerusalem Temple. As such, it shows a knowledge of the subject that has never been exhibited anywhere else. All this is combined with a degree of artistic feeling very rare in modern Italian architects, and an amount of constructive skill which, so far as I know, is unrivalled by that to be found in any existing building in the whole world.

These particulars are all obtained from a paper by R. P. Pullan, communicated to the Architect, October 6, 1877, accompanied by plans, sections, and elevations.

restoration of this building. I am far from supposing that it is the only one that can be proposed, but I feel certain that it is *a* solution that meets fairly all conditions of the problem known to us, and as such it may, like other suggestions offered in the preceding pages, be allowed to stand till at least a better is brought forward.

If this is so, it is hardly worth while to point out certain exaggerations that Josephus puts forward in describing the interior of the building ; as, for instance, when he says that the doorway into the Holy Place was 55 cubits in height, and that the vestibule, as just mentioned, was 90 cubits high internally.[1] He seems, as before pointed out, to have been possessed with the idea that the Holy Place was 60 cubits high, and consequently a doorway 5 cubits less would not be inappropriate and as the front was 100 cubits high externally, an internal dimension of 90 cubits would or might be required. A German author of the name of Unruh has taken them all literally, and protracted them to scale,[2] and such a *reductio ad absurdum* is quite sufficient to prove their impossibility even if other evidence were not available for their correction. The difficulty is to conceive the state of mind or of memory in a man like Josephus who knew the building, and could write down things he must have known were incorrect. It is true the building was destroyed when he wrote, and no one could prove he was wrong, and he may have thought that simple but consistent exaggerations in height were more likely to impress his readers with the magnificence of the building than the enumeration of a number of small and complex parts. Whatever the motive, this at least seems clear, either it is that he is hopelessly wrong in his statements of internal dimensions, or we are utterly incapable of forming any opinion as to what the internal arrangements of the Temple were ; and if it is decided that Josephus must be right, I, for one at least, withdraw from the contest.

Turning meanwhile from these inconceivable dimensions, it is pleasant to find the Middoth describing the door of the Temple as 20 cubits in height by 10 cubits in width, and with a smaller door or wicket on each side, one of which was permanently closed, the other in ordinary use. This is so exactly what we would expect that it may be adopted without hesitation. I have restored the central doorway with a semicircular lunette over it, as such would be useful for lighting the interior, and is a feature commonly introduced in buildings of that age or of times slightly subsequent to the building of the Temple.[3] An illustration of one from the synagogue at Kefr Beirim is given farther on. It is appropriate, not only as belonging to a Jewish building, but as having the vine sculptured on the lintel, which could only be a reminiscence of the golden vine of the Temple described in the next section.

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[1] B. J. v. 5, 4. [2] Das alte Jerusalem und seine Bauwerke, by Gustav Unruh; Langensalza, 1861.
[3] De Vogüé, Syrie Centrale, pl. 9, 21, 23, 65, 69, 123, 132, 141, &c.

I have also introduced a solid floor in the vestibule on the level of the floor of the upper chamber, though there is no direct authority for it, and perhaps an open internal gallery may have been employed instead. It seems to me, however, that it would be paying the architects of Herod's Temple a very bad compliment to suppose that, having been called upon—as, I believe, they certainly were—to provide an upper chamber and stairs leading to it in one or both of the wing towers, they could not provide convenient and dignified access to it, and one that would be consonant with commonsense and architectural propriety. Above this, I have introduced a solid vault, because, if I am correct in assuming that it was in the open gallery, above this, that the priests took refuge while the Temple was burning, and found shelter after it was burnt (as pointed out above, page 138), it is clear that it must have been practically fireproof; and this would necessitate the arrangements shown in the section, Plate IV., or something at least very similar.

As hinted above, I look on it as nearly certain that Josephus considered Solomon's Temple as practically identical with Herod's, and that nine-tenths of what he says of the older applies in reality to the more modern structure. There may have been—I believe were—upper chambers in both, but his knowledge of the means of access and the arrangements he describes in his 8th book—which have been already commented upon in speaking of Solomon's Temple—were all derived from the Temple which he knew, not from that one he never saw. It is to this one, consequently, that all there said, ought in strictness to be applied; the one essential difference being that in Solomon's Temple, owing to the more confined space, the ascent must have been wholly by steps; in Herod's, on the other hand, it must have been by an inclined plane up to the level of the gallery of the third storey of little chambers. Above this, the ascent probably was by stairs, but these would have been of appropriate dignity and easily lighted. When this defect of critical acumen on Josephus' part is borne in mind, and his manifest exaggeration put on one side, it appears to me to result from his description that the Temple must have been arranged as conveniently and appropriately, in the interior, as it was magnificent on its exterior face, and altogether made up such an edifice as to justify all that has been, or could be, said in its praise.

It would be tedious, as well as unprofitable, to attempt to follow the Rabbis in all their minute specifications for the storing and keeping of the sacred utensils to be used in the services of the Temple, though, where there is so much room to spare, it would be easy to do so, if worth while, and to a certain extent it is done, in the restoration now proposed. I have, for instance, provided a room, 10 feet square, in what may be called the newel of the northern staircase, which is ample for the storage of the twenty-four sets of butchering instruments used in the twenty-four courses. There is also abundant space for the ninety-six

closets in which the various garments of the priests were kept,[1] in the two ranges of low buildings which, I believe, extended from the projecting wings of the façade to the wall of the court towards the west. These would serve not only for the convenience of the priests residing in the Temple, but also as a barrier to the "separate place," to prevent the laity from approaching too near to the holy house itself. The towers themselves, and probably the porch, as things added in Herod's time, may not have been considered so sacred as to be defiled by the touch of the men of Israel. But the Temple itself was accessible only to priests and Levites, and must have been protected by some such arrangement as this from the contact of the laity.

Although there is practically so little in the New Testament that assists us much in our attempts to understand the structure of the Temple, there is one passage that occurs in two Gospels[2] which seems only explicable on some such theory of restoration as that now proposed. After taking Christ to "a high mountain," it is narrated that Satan "setteth him on a pinnacle of the temple," and defied him to cast himself down therefrom. It may of course be argued that the expression is merely figurative, but it is just such an incident as no one acquainted with Jerusalem would have imagined, had not the pinnacle of the Temple been an unusually high place, and consequently appropriate for such a temptation scene. It may also be remarked that, as an indefinite article is employed, the fair inference is, that there was more than one pinnacle, though it is difficult to imagine how there could be more than two. This restoration, therefore, seems to suit the incident with as much exactness as is compatible with the vagueness of such an indication.

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[1] Middoth iv. 7; Lightfoot's Prospect of the Temple, p. 274. [2] Matthew iv. 5; Luke iv. 9.

CHAPTER IX.

THE TORAN.

There still remains one feature of this façade to be described, and though it is an important one, neither did I nor apparently anyone else suspect its existence till quite recently. I have already alluded to it under the Indian name of Toran, as that is the name by which such structures are distinguished in the East. They are not, however, known in the West, and we consequently have no European term we can apply to them.

The passages in Josephus and the Talmud describing this feature are the following :—"The Temple had doors at the entrance with lintels above, extending to a height equal to that of the Temple. They were adorned with coloured veils or curtains, on which purple flowers with trellis work were embroidered. Upon this, but lower than the crowning moulding of the wall, a golden vine was spread out, with its branches hanging down from a great height, and executed with such a profusion of material as to strike the spectator with astonishment as well from the art displayed as from its magnitude."[1]

The corresponding paragraph in the 'Wars of the Jews' is as follows :—"The first gate of the Temple was 70 cubits high by 25 broad,[2] but this gate had no doors, for it symbolised the heavens, everywhere open and everywhere visible. Its front was covered with gold all over, and through it the first part of the house itself, which was the largest, was everywhere visible; as well as those parts about the inner doors which were also covered with gold . . . . But the gate of this Temple, as already mentioned, was all covered with gold, as was the whole wall about it. It also had golden vines upon it, from which clusters of grapes hung down, equal in height to that of a man."[3]

These passages are too rhetorical for the purposes of a restoration, and the heights, as usual with Josephus, are very much exaggerated. The Talmud is, in this instance at least, more exact and detailed. Its description is as follows :—"The gates of the propylon were 40 cubits in height and 20 cubits broad, and above these were five richly carved beams of ash or oak. The lowest of these extended 1 cubit either way beyond the pillars of the doorway, while the one next above this was 1 cubit longer either way than that below it, so that the

[1] Antiquities of the Jews, xv. 3.
[2] Both these numbers seem duplications of those given in 1 Kings vii. 15 and 2 Chron. iii. 15.
[3] Bell. Jud. v. 5, 4.

upper beam of all extended to 30 cubits. Between each beam there was a row, or course of stones."

"Transverse beams [*melathra*] of cedar" (in the Venetian edition of the Talmud it is said "of stone") "were carried from the wall of the Temple to this portico or propylon to support it"—literally, that it might not start from the perpendicular. "Golden chains were hung to the beams of the portico, by which the candidates for the priesthood went up to see the crowns, because it is said by Zechariah, vi. 14, 'And the crowns shall be to Helem,' &c. 'for a memorial in the temple of the Lord.'"

"A golden vine was spread over this gateway of the Temple, and was carried upon the supporting beams. Whoever vowed a leaf, or grape, or bunch of grapes, brought and suspended it from it (the vine). Eliezer, the son of Zadok, says, it thus happened the 300 priests were told off as necessary on occasions when it had to be removed."[1]

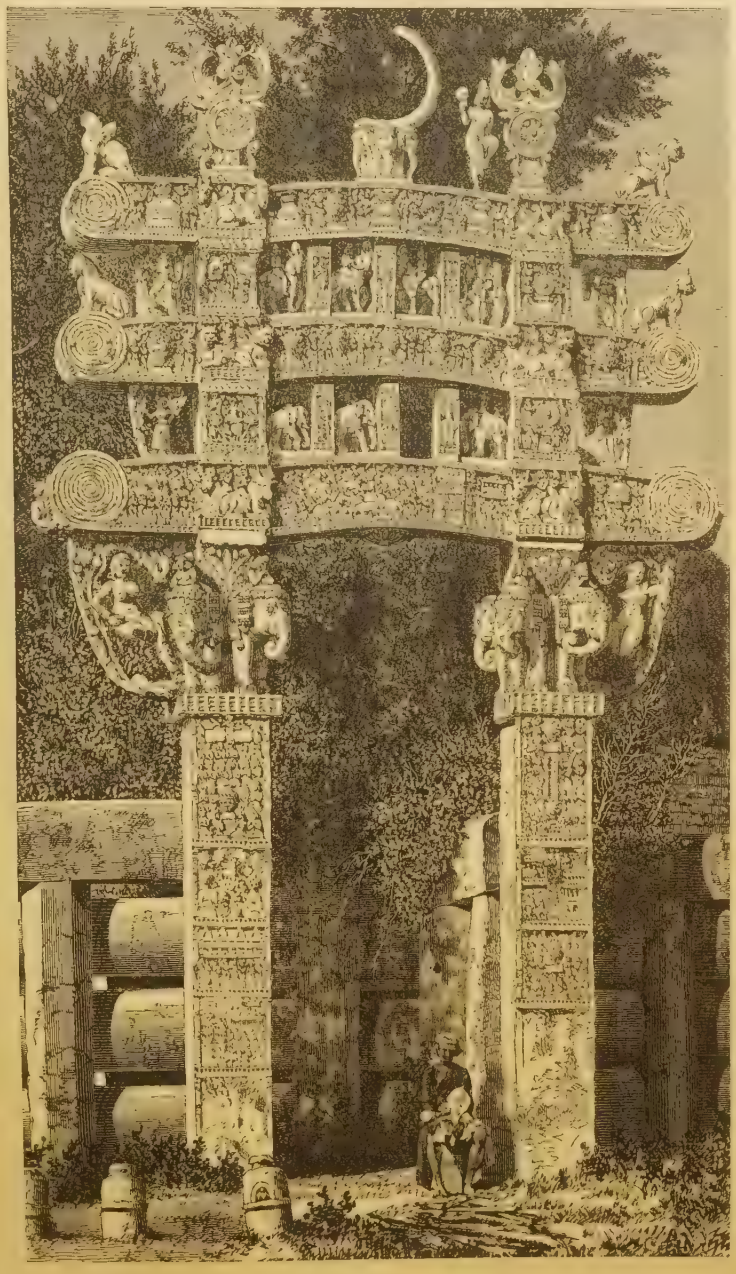
It was only when trying to realise the meaning of these passages, and their application to the façade of the Temple, that I became aware that a gate (πύλη) with no doors (θύρας), but through which the front part of the Temple could be seen, and which "symbolised the heavens everywhere open and visible" was not an entrance to the interior of the building; and the more it is studied, the more it becomes evident that it was no part of the structure of the Temple. Even then, it would have been difficult to give shape to the description, were it not that, of late years, we have become familiar with a form of propylon used in the East for the last 2000 years at least, and still existing everywhere in China and Japan.[2] The four examples at Sanchi, erected in the first century of the Christian era, have been described in detail in my 'Tree and Serpent Worship,' and their similarity to this pointed out in an appendix to that work. One of these is represented in the woodcut opposite, and, though perhaps not the one that might be selected as most like the Jerusalem example, is sufficiently near it for purposes of illustration. It is also curious as being in a great measure devoted to tree worship, the central bar being wholly devoted to it; the upper has alternately trees and dagobas. Whether this has or has not any affinity with the honour paid to the Vine at Jerusalem is a question others must determine; it is hardly worth while attempting to discuss it here.

31.—COIN OF CYPRUS.

That such forms were not unknown in the West seems evident from many Greek coins representing the temple of Venus in Cyprus, which was adorned by a pylon so like those at Sanchi that, making allowance for the necessary imperfection of numismatic representations, it is hardly possible to mistake their being intended

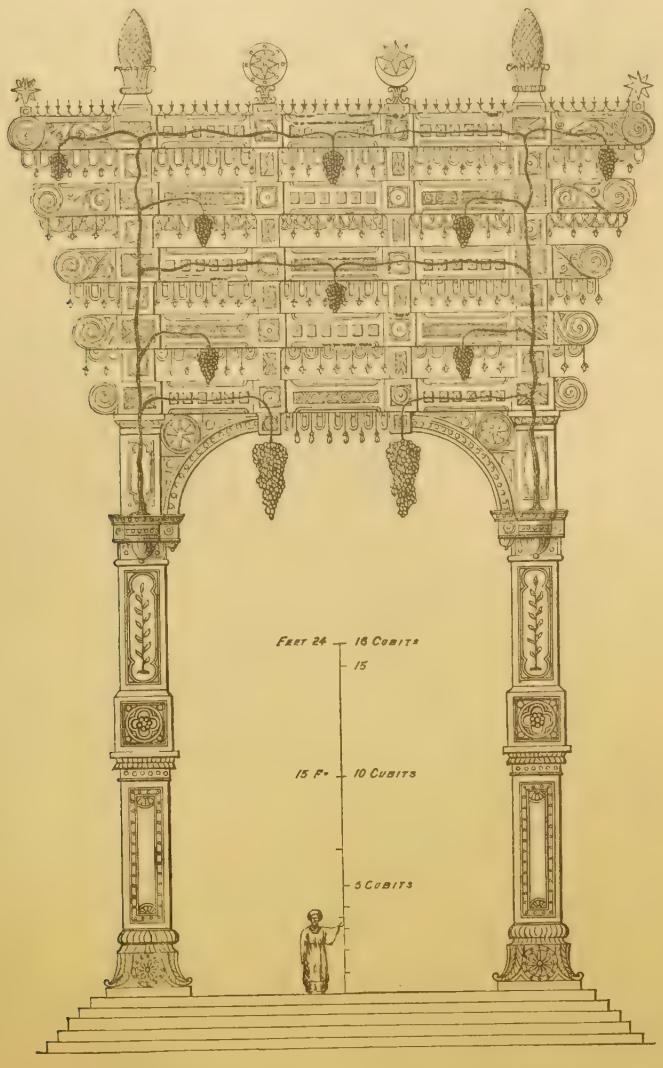
[1] Middoth iii. 7, 8.

[2] *Vide ante*, page 126, for Japanese example.



33.—Northern Gateway of the Great Tope at Sanchi. (From a photograph.)

for the same object. Those at Sanchi and elsewhere in India are wholly in stone, though evidently, like the Lycian tombs, copied from wooden originals. The Cyprian example looks almost as wooden as the Pailoos of China, but the example



34.—Vine-bearing Toran in Front of Herod's Temple.

at Jerusalem was apparently partly in wood and partly in stone. The pillars were almost certainly in the latter material; but the beams were in wood, and it is not clear from our authorities whether the buttresses and transverse beams

supporting it, and joining it to the façade, were in the one material or the other. It makes no difference in the design nor in the application, whichever they were; so this question may be left for future enquiry. What we now want to know is what was the form of this screen, and if we may trust the Talmud or our Eastern analogies, it does not seem it can be very different from that here represented, and its purpose certainly was to support the golden vine, which was the principal ornament of the façade. Why this was so is by no means clear. It may have been, as Dean Stanley expresses it, that "the vine was the earliest and the latest symbol of Judah," and "both in prophetical and evangelical records represents the kingdom of that name."[1] Whether this was so or not, it was with an earlier example of the same emblem that Aristobulus sought to purchase the friendship of Pompey. The one he presented to him was valued at five hundred talents, and was apparently torn from the Temple of the Jews, to be deposited in that of Jupiter Capitolinus at Rome, where it was seen, long afterwards, by Strabo of Cappadocia, with an inscription to the effect that it was presented by the king of the Jews.[2] Its successor is described by Tacitus as so important a feature as to induce some to believe that the Temple at Jerusalem was dedicated to Bacchus.[3]

The argument in favour of the existence of this curious screen that will, probably, have most weight with the majority of readers is that, if this did not exist as here represented, there is nothing in Herod's Temple any way analogous to the Jachin and Boaz of Solomon's. These two pillars seem to have been so important a feature in the early Temple that it is extremely difficult to believe some attempt would not be made to reproduce them in the new; yet without this screen, with its vine, there is absolutely no analogue for the pillars with their pomegranates and other ornaments. It is unfortunately only too true that, though hundreds have wasted both time and ingenuity upon them, no one has succeeded in producing a restoration of these two celebrated pillars that is generally acceptable. In speaking of Solomon's Temple, I have above attempted to explain that it seems absurd to suppose that they were merely pillars of bronze set up like Egyptian obelisks in front of the temples of that country. Such a supposition is to misunderstand the use of the Egyptian examples, and to defy analogy. No such pillars of bronze existed anywhere else that we know of, with their enormously exaggerated capitals, and particularly with their superabundant ornaments, which it seems impossible to crowd into the space allotted to them.

If, however, we may assume that, from the description of this vine-bearing screen, in Josephus and the Talmud, compared with our Indian examples, we

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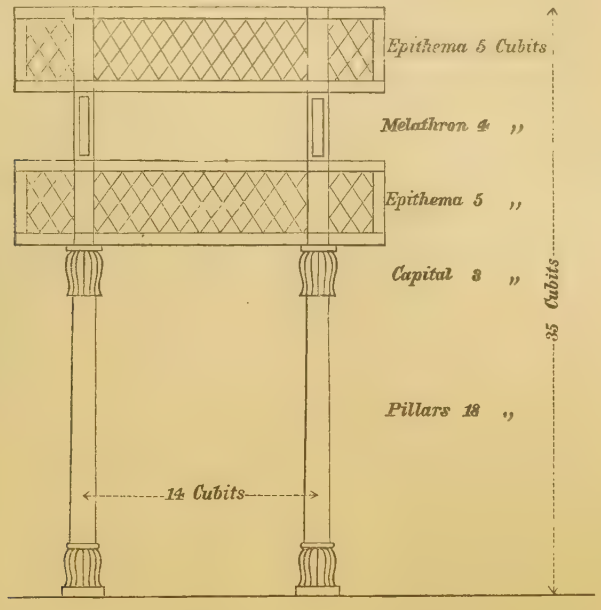
[1] Sinai and Palestine, p. 164.

[2] Josephus, Ant. xiv. 3, 1.

[3] "Vitisque aurea templo reperta Liberum patrem coli, domitorem orientis, quidem arbitrati sunt." Tacitus Hist. v. 5; Plutarch, l. iv. Sympos.

have realised even approximately the form of the Toran, we may now be in a position to attain clearer ideas of the pillars cast by Hiram than has hitherto been possible. At all events, the subject is so interesting that it is worth while making the attempt; and though I am far from flattering myself that I have been successful, I beg leave to submit the diagram below as, at least, a partial solution of some of its mysteries.

The first difficulty that arises in trying to do this is the disproportionate massiveness of these two pillars for work in metal. If a line of 12 cubits



35.—Rough Diagram explanatory of the Screen supported by the Pillars of Jachin and Boaz in Front of Solomon's Temple.

really encompassed "either of them about,"[1] their height being 18 cubits, this would give a proportion of only $4\frac{1}{2}$ diameters, or nearly that of the pillars of the Parthenon, which, though perfectly appropriate in stonework, would be absurd in metal. Josephus says 12 dactyles[2] (δακτύλων), and the Septuagint has 14 cubits, showing that there is at least some uncertainty in the matter. My own impression is that what was meant was that a line of 12 or 14 cubits, stretched across, encompassed both pillars, as one of 20 cubits did that of their copies in Herod's Temple. This, at least, would be a pleasing and

1 Kings vii. 15.

[2] Ant. viii. 3, 4.

proper proportion, though whether it is what the Bible meant is by no means so clear.

From a second description in the Book of Kings, we learn that the capitals were of "three cubits";[1] but all our authorities are agreed that the chapiters were of 5 cubits in height, and that they were adorned with wreaths and chains and network and pomegranates 400 in number; and the difficulty has been to find room for all these things on a capital 5 cubits high, by, say, 12 cubits in circumference, and, more than this, to find anything at all analogous to this in any art or any architecture of the world. I quite admit that this is what, not only the Book of Kings[2] and Chronicles,[3] but also the allusion to this feature in Jeremiah,[4] would lead us to suppose they intended to express, and there is nothing in Josephus to contradict it;[5] all I would urge is that, if it is so, the problem appears to me to be insoluble. If, however, we may assume that the two chapiters of 5 cubits each, which were placed on the pillars, were beams or frames of bronze extending from one to the other, as in the vine-bearing trellis of Herod's Temple, the whole becomes clear and intelligible. To bring this, however, into accord with our texts, it would be necessary that all those expressions which mean "round about" in speaking of the chapiters should be either annulled or modified; and more than this, it would be necessary to assume that some at least of the descriptions were written by persons who had no personal knowledge or no distinct idea of the object they were describing. This is so large a demand on the tolerance of enquiry that I hardly care to argue it, and merely put it forward as a suggestion to be taken for what it is worth. It may, consequently, suffice briefly to state what I believe the form of the monument to have been, leaving it to others to reject or adopt my views as they think best. My impression is that the frontispiece prepared by Hiram for Solomon's Temple consisted of two pillars of bronze placed 12 or 14 cubits apart, and probably not more than 1 cubit in diameter. They had capitals 3 cubits in height, and on them were placed two beams or frames of bronze each 5 cubits in height. The Septuagint calls them *ἐπιθέματα*, which cannot by any means be construed as capitals, but the term may very reasonably be applied to such a beam as is here suggested. These were apparently separated from one another by a transverse beam or buttress extending back 4 cubits to the porch, as was the case in Herod's Temple, to support the framework where most needed. The word employed in the Septuagint (*μέλαθρον*) is translated, in our best lexicons, as "a beam projecting from the wall of a house." Generally, it must be admitted as the support of a roof or projecting cornice, but it is as applicable for the use here suggested. It is stated to have been adorned with "lily work," which I presume may mean, with a honeysuckle

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[1] 2 Kings xxv. 17. [2] 1 Kings vii. 15–21. [3] 2 Chron. iii. 15–17.
[4] Jeremiah lii. 21. [5] Ant. viii. 3, 4.

ornament carved upon it, in contradistinction to the net and pensile work of the *epithemata*. It is, of course, arbitrary to assume that, because this *melathron* was 4 cubits long, it must have been equal to that in height. I am inclined to this, however, because these measures together make up 35 cubits, which looks very like as if the writer in the Chronicles had adopted the whole height of that screen for the height of the pillars only.[1]

The first great advantage we obtain from the scheme just suggested is, that we obtain abundant space for "network," and "chains," and "pensile work," either on the *epithemata*, or hanging from them, and also for the four hundred pomegranates in four rows, which were the principal ornaments in Solomon's, as the vine was in Herod's, Temple. Even then, however, when drawn out to scale, it is extremely difficult to find room for more than twenty-four or twenty-five pomegranates in a row, even on an *epithema* 20 cubits long, if of the proper size, to be effective at that distance from the eye, and if properly spaced for ornamental purposes. I consequently believe that they hung behind as well as before—"round about the chapiters," in fact—and probably twenty-four in each row, ninety-six in each *epithema*, as mentioned by Jeremiah. There may also have been two at each end.

I am far from contending that this suggestion removes all the difficulties connected with this celebrated work of Hiram's, but it seems to me to be nearer the true solution than any other I am acquainted with. It is hardly, however, worth while pursuing the subject further at this stage of the enquiry, as without more knowledge of Hebrew than I possess, or without the assistance of some scholar competent to supply my deficiencies, it is impossible for any one to feel sure that he knows all the conditions of the problem he is trying to solve. It may, therefore, be as well to leave it till others have expressed their opinions regarding it, when it may be taken up again and treated as a separate subject.[2] One great difficulty for its general acceptance is, no doubt, that the form so proposed is even less familiar to the general public than the obeliscal one usually suggested; but any one who has been in the East, and knows how frequent these torans are in front of the doorways of temples from India to Japan, would rather look for, and expect to find, something of the sort at Jerusalem, and feel disappointed if any other form were adopted. My own impression certainly is that in Solomon's Temple Jachin and Boaz supported a screen with two beams or *epithemata*, but there

[1] It is not a little curious, as well as significant, that Josephus makes the whole height of the vine-bearing screen 70 cubits (B. J. v. 5, 4), or just twice the thirty-five cubits of the Book of Chronicles. To me this appears the strongest testimony we have of the correctness of the dimensions there given.

[2] I have drawn out this Jachin and Boaz screen to scale for my own satisfaction, and with such ornamentation as seems to me appropriate and sufficient to make the foundation of a very beautiful work of art in metal work. I do not, however, feel so confident in the correctness of my principles as to think it worth while publishing it, and prefer leaving it in the state of the rude diagram shown in woodcut No. 35, till it is seen how far scholars will assent to its theory.

I must leave it. It is not essential to our restoration, and it is not necessary or expedient to press what avowedly cannot be proved.

As regards Herod's Temple, however, I feel very little doubt but that the woodcut No. 34[1] fairly represents the form the screen took as erected about the time of the Christian era; in the first place, because I do not think that the passages above quoted from Josephus and the Middoth can bear any other interpretation than that I have put upon them, and also because the form was so common in the East at that time that I see no *a priori* improbability in its being adopted by Herod, even if nothing of an exactly similar nature had existed in the previous Temples.

The oldest example now known to exist in the East is that at Bharhut, not yet published,[2] but known to be at least two centuries older than the Jerusalem example. It is wholly in stone. So also are the four at Sanchi, which all belong to the first century of our era;[3] while the representations of them, both at Sanchi and Amravati, are so frequent that their employment may be said to be universal; but generally, apparently, they were in wood. Some years ago this could hardly have been employed as an argument, but recent discoveries—especially in architecture—have shown the communications between the East and the West to have been so much more frequent, and intimate, than was previously suspected, as to remove all taint of improbability from the argument, even if they are not sufficient to show that it must or might have been so. Perhaps when others come to investigate the subject, some new light may be thrown on the matter; but meanwhile it is a new and interesting feature added to our history of the architecture of the Temple, and one that seems likely, when properly investigated, to throw a flood of light on the mystery of the Jachin and Boaz pillars, as also on various problems involved in the mutual influence on one another of Eastern and Western architectural art.

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[1] In order to show the construction, the golden leaves have been omitted from this diagram, as well as from Plates III. and IV. They are partially introduced in the perspective view, forming the frontispiece, and, if the scale were large enough, ought to be introduced everywhere, as they were the principal ornaments of the composition.

[2] Partially illustrated by me, in my History of Indian Architecture, p. 88, woodcut 27.

[3] Tree and Serpent Worship, pp. 99 *et seq.*

CHAPTER X.

ARCHITECTURAL ILLUSTRATIONS.

Tombs.

IN addition to the buildings above alluded to as illustrating the style of architecture in which the Temple of Herod was built, there are several others in Judæa well worthy of attentive study, as bearing on the same subject. None, of course, can bear so directly upon it as the vestibule of the Huldah Gateway, which was part of the Temple itself, or as the monoliths of the valley of Jehoshaphat, as these were connected with it in some mysterious way, or as the Temple of Baalsamin, which is a contemporary copy of it on a small scale. Besides these, however, we have in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem numerous tombs which are certainly not earlier than Herod's time, nor later than the age of Titus, and all which have features which enable us to understand, to some extent at least, the architecture of the first century in and about Jerusalem.

Of these, one of the most remarkable is the Herodium, or, as it is generally called, "the Tombs of the Kings," on the north of the city. Josephus mentions it once as "the monuments of Herod,"[1] a second time, with the same name in the singular,[2] and a third time, as the "sepulchral caverns of the kings,"[3] by which name it is now known. That it was excavated by Herod would probably never have been doubted, had not Josephus' account of his funeral been obscure and contradictory to a greater extent than is usual even with him. Herod, he says, died at Jericho,[4] and in the 'Wars of the Jews,' it is said "they carried his body 200 stadia to the Herodium, and there buried him,"[5] while in the 'Antiquities,' on the other hand, it is stated, "they went 8 stadia to the Herodium, and there, by his own command, buried him."[6] The usual mode of reconciling these differences is to assume that the Herodium in the first passage applies to the Jebel Fureidîs, which also bore that name, but which never—so far as I know—was a sepulchre or intended for one. For the second,

[1] B. J. v. 3, 2.
[2] B. J. v. 12, 2.
[3] B. J. v. 4, 2.
[4] There can be no doubt that the statement of Josephus is, that Herod died at Jericho, but the mention of the Hippodrome, the presence of the nobles and of all the parties concerned, in fact all the circumstances connected with his last illness, would lead to the supposition that he died at Jerusalem. I cannot help fancying that the true solution is, that the historian either forgot or omitted to mention that he had been removed there before his death.
[5] B. J. i. 33, 9.
[6] Ant. xvii. 8, 3.

it is assumed they marched 8 furlongs, or one mile, per day, for twenty-five days, till they reached the place, for which hypothesis there is, however, no shadow of authority, so far as I can see, while it is in itself a most improbable rate of locomotion. The distance of Jerusalem from Jericho is 12 miles, or 96 stadia, as the crow flies, from Jebel Fureidîs 15 miles, or 120 stadia, so that neither of these will make up the 200 stadia required; so there is little to choose between them. The real solution, I believe, lies in adhering to the account in the 'Antiquities,' and assuming that after his death his body was brought to Jerusalem, and after lying in state, the procession which Josephus describes was formed there, and marched 8 stadia from the Palace in the city to the Tombs of the Kings, this being the exact distance on the Ordnance Survey.

Against this view, it must not be forgotten that in the fourth century the tradition had got blurred, and that both Eusebius[1] and Jerome[2] considered these caves as the celebrated Tombs of Helena of Adiabene. These, however, were certainly structural pyramids,[3] probably, in form like the so-called Tomb of Zacharias, represented in woodcut No. 29, and were at a greater distance from Jerusalem than these caverns;[4] while it need hardly be added that a memory being obscured, or a tradition altered, in three centuries, is the rule rather than the exception at Jerusalem.

This may be considered a digression, but hardly an irrelevant one, for these sepulchral caverns of the kings form a landmark of the utmost value in the history of the architecture of Jerusalem so that it is most important to fix their date if possible, while it does not appear to me doubtful that they were excavated by Herod for the burialplace of his family and himself. Even if the historical incidents just alluded to did not suffice for this purpose, the architectural features would, I conceive, prove it beyond doubt. Their architectural arrangements are the same as those of the Tomb of St. James, in the valley of Jehoshaphat (woodcut No. 30), the order being the same debased Roman Doric prevalent in Syria about the Christian era. The façade of the Herodium, however, is overloaded with ornaments to a greater extent than any other I am acquainted with, and must, before it was ruined, have been a wonderful example of barbaric splendour.

It was in this tomb that De Saulcy found the sarcophagus which is now in the Louvre, and which he so strangely mistook for that of one of the early kings of Judah. If the theory just enunciated, that this was the Herodian family sepulchre, is correct, it hardly admits of doubt that it was fashioned by Herod to contain his own remains. At the same time, its ornamentation is so nearly identical with that of the roof of the vestibule of the Huldah Gate of the Temple that, with those of the façade of the tomb, they together make

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[1] Hist. Eccl. ii. 12. [2] Epit. ad Eustach. ix. 1, describing the journey of Sta. Paula.
[3] Ant. xx. 4, 3. [4] Ant. xx. 4, 3.

up a mass of material for restoring the façade of the Temple which will nearly suffice when properly reproduced. In all, it need hardly be repeated, the vine and bunches of grapes form the staple of the decoration.[1]

36.—PORTION OF THE LID OF HEROD'S SARCOPHAGUS. (From a drawing by De Saulcy.)[2]

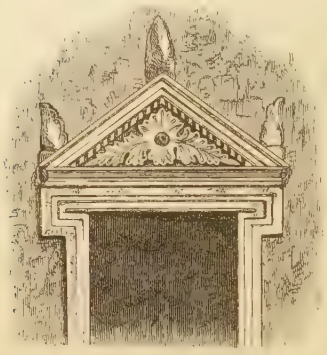
The so-called Tombs of the Judges are of a slightly more modern date, but still anterior to the destruction of the city by Titus. The ornament there consists principally of a singularly sharp, spicated acanthus leaf, common in these parts down to the time of Constantine, indeed till the employment of classical architecture ceased altogether. A similar style of decoration is found on a frontispiece above a doorway behind the Pillar of Absalom, which

[1] The same wreath of olive leaves that forms the principal ornament of this sarcophagus occurs in almost all the copper coins of the Asmonean period. The annexed illustration is from one of Judas Maccabæus, but it occurs also on those of Hyrcanus and others. See article "Money," in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, from which the woodcut is borrowed.

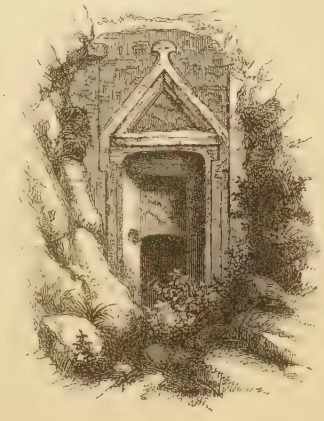
37.—COPPER COIN OF JUDAS MACCABÆUS.

[2] This beautiful sarcophagus is now in the Palestine Chamber, in the Louvre, but, strange to say, thrust into a dark corner, where it can with difficulty be found, or seen when discovered; the place of honour, in the centre, being assigned to one of far inferior importance.

is consequently more modern than the pillar itself. It leads to a group of chambers called the Tomb of Jehoshaphat, which is certainly not a tomb, but more probably a rock-cut *vihara*, or monastery—so at least it would be called in India; here it may have been the residence of an anchorite. In all



38.—DOORWAY OF TOMBS OF JUDGES.
(From a photograph.)



39.—ENTRANCE TO TOMB NEAR JERUSALEM.
(From Salzmann.)

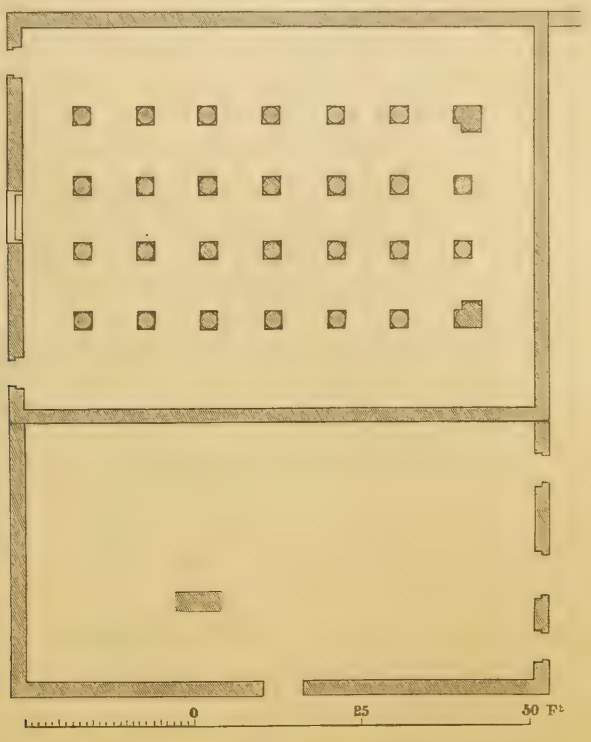
these examples, indeed in all the rock-cut tombs of this age around Jerusalem, the most marked peculiarity is a tendency to exaggerate the height of the tympana. In some cases they nearly approach to the height of an equilateral triangle, but do not, so far as I know, ever quite reach that form. They do so, however, sufficiently nearly to diminish considerably the improbability that the Temple had a roof of such a section.

Synagogues.

Another fruitful source of hints for the restoration of the Temple at Jerusalem may be found among the synagogues of Northern Syria — the Tiberiad—or rather will be found when they have been properly surveyed and their details published. At present our knowledge of them is confined to a short paper of half-a-dozen pages with one plate, inserted in 1869 by Captain (now Major) Wilson in the Second Quarterly Report of the Palestine Exploration Fund; and this, though clear and accurate, like everything done by him, is not, even with the photographs that accompany it, sufficient to enable us to understand them, if, indeed, they can be understood at all; but they are generally so ruined that even this is doubtful.[1]

[1] As all the statements made regarding these synagogues are based on this short paper, it will not be necessary to refer to it each time it is mentioned.

Their first and most striking peculiarity is the number of pillars that crowd their floors. With one exception, the nine which Major Wilson examined were divided into five aisles by four rows of pillars like that at Tell Hum (Capernaum), shown in the annexed woodcut; and this, too, though its internal dimensions were only 74 feet 9 inches by 56 feet 9 inches. Another peculiarity is that the centre aisle is the narrowest—under 7 feet clear—the next a little wider, the outer 11 feet 6 inches. Such an arrangement seems so utterly unsuited to any congregational or ceremonial purposes, that there



40.—Synagogue at Tell Hum. (By Major Wilson.)

must have been some other cause for it; and the only one that occurs to me is that what we have here is only the lower storey of a building of which the upper chamber was really the ceremonial or meeting room. It seems absurd to suppose that in a country where they could construct the roof of a Stoa Basilica 105 feet in width, with only two rows of internal pillars, making three aisles, it would have required four rows and five aisles for the roof of a room only 56 feet wide. The objection to this theory, of course, is that no trace of a staircase has been found anywhere, but this, in their generally

ruined state, is hardly to be wondered at. Two of them, however—Meiron and Irbid—seem to be notched out of the hillside, as if for the purpose of giving access to their roofs or upper storeys from the outside, and at Tell Hum, as shown in the plan, there is an annex, in which the staircase may have been accommodated.

The exceptional synagogue above alluded to is the smaller one at Kefr Beirim, which, being only 35 feet 6 inches in width internally, had only two rows of pillars in its interior, dividing it into three aisles.

It would of course be absurd to argue that these synagogues were literal copies, in any sense, of the Temple. But the places of worship of the same people, and some at least of them—that at Capernaum, for instance—being probably contemporary, there must have existed similarities which would throw light on the peculiarities of the others, were either ascertainable. If there was an upper room to the Temple, which seems proved from what has been said above, there is no improbability that a similar apartment existed in the synagogues; or, on the other hand, if it could be demonstrated that the synagogues had such an upper room, it would be another and a strong argument in favour of the upper chamber said to have existed in the Temple. The presence also of such a number of pillars on the floors of the synagogues invalidates all reasoning based on the fact of the improbability of their existence on the floor of the Temple, where they can be shown to have been indispensable for constructive purposes.

In trying to understand the relation between the two classes of buildings, it must also be borne in mind, as before mentioned, that the lower storey of the Temple was not used for any great ceremonial or congregational purposes or worship, in the sense in which we understand these terms. The Holy of Holies was only entered by the most privileged priests on the rarest possible occasions and the Holy Place was used more for the deposit of the Table of Shewbread, the Golden Candlesticks, and all the wonderful articles of furniture which Hiram cast for Solomon, which, no doubt, had their representatives in Herod's Temple. The reading of the Law, the putting up of prayer, the chanting of the Psalms, if these took place at all except in the open air, must, as before suggested, have taken place in this upper room of the Temple. This may have been the case also in the synagogue, and its lower floor may have been occupied by some passive form of worship or by offerings; for which the crowded state of the floor, from the number of pillars, would not have been objectionable.[1]

[1] It may of course be suggested that this took place in the court of the Temple, and in the open air. That occasional services or great festivals took place there, is, I believe, quite certain, but I cannot believe that in such a climate as that of Jerusalem the ordinary daily services could have been performed out of doors. Neither Christian nor Moslem have found such a practice feasible, nor do I believe the Jews could have done so either.

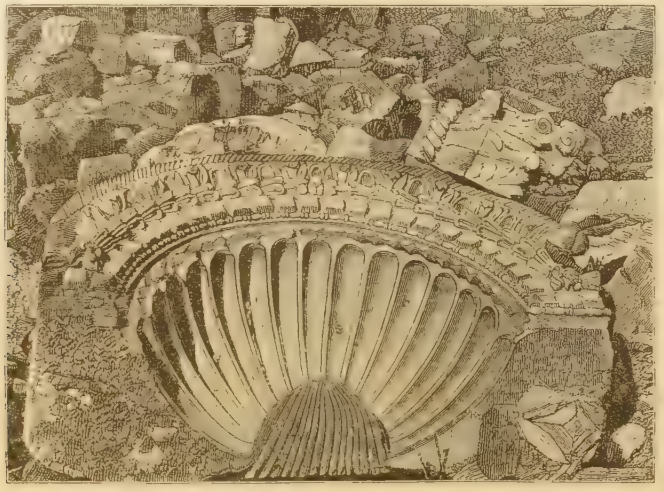
The synagogues are generally so ruined, most of them completely thrown down, that they do not afford us much assistance in restoring the external architecture of the Temple. There is, however, a doorway in the larger synagogue of Kefr Beirim which is so exactly, *mutatis mutandis*, what I believe the doorway of the Temple to have been that it is worth quoting. It is more modern, of course, but how much, it is impossible to say, from the information available; but its mouldings are so classical that it may easily belong to the first century of our era. On its lintel, on either side of an open flower, two lambs were sculptured, apparently intended for the Paschal lambs, but which a

41.—Doorway of Synagogue at Kefr Beirim. (From a photograph.)

stricter sect have afterwards attempted to erase. Above this is the inevitable vine with its bunches of grapes, and over that the discharging arch, which is so common in Syria at this age. The vine with its grapes occurs also at Tell Hum, and probably elsewhere, but lying buried in the ruins of the building it once adorned.

Among the ruins of the synagogue at Kerazeh (Chorazin) are found the fragments of several niche heads, not in themselves of any remarkable beauty, but of great interest to us here, as their design and the style of their ornaments are—allowing for their being slightly more modern—almost identical with the

ornaments of one of the domes in the roof of the vestibule of the gate Huldah of the Temple (woodcut No. 18). The wreath of olive leaves occurs also round the base of this niche, though more coarsely executed than that round the other dome of the Huldah Gateway (woodcut No. 19), or than that shown on Herod's sarcophagus (woodcut No. 36), but still unmistakably the same. As there is no mistake about the synagogue being after the Christian era, all this is sufficient to prove—if proof were wanted—that that gateway did not belong to Solomon's,



42.—RUINED NICHE IN SYNAGOGUE AT CHORAZIN. (From a photograph.)

as De Saulcy and others have supposed, but to Herod's Temple. A still more apposite and perfect illustration of this class of decoration is found in the apse of the prætorium at Mousmieh, which De Vogüé ascertained was erected 160–169 A.D.[1] From photographs, it appears that it has in its details considerable resemblances with those of the Huldah vaults, but the Chorazin niche, though much more coarsely executed, and therefore, probably, much more modern, shows more distinct evidence of being a direct copy of those in Jerusalem.

Palaces.

The palace at Mashita near Hesbon is the last building I shall have occasion to mention before leaving this branch of the subject. The date (614–627)[2] is much too modern, of course, for it to have any direct reference to the Temple

[1] Syrie Centrale, pl. 7, p. 45.

[2] I have already published what I have to say about this date, and generally about this building, in an appendix to Dr. Tristram's Land of Moab, pp. 367–385, together with a restoration of it as the frontispiece to that work; it is therefore unnecessary to go over the argument again. The reader who desires further information regarding it can refer to Dr. Tristram's work.

at Jerusalem, but it worthily closes a chapter of architectural history of which that celebrated building was the first example, and this the last; and it is

43.—COMPARTMENT OF WESTERN OCTAGON TOWER OF THE PERSIAN PALACE AT MASHITA.

only by putting the whole together, and reading it from the beginning to the end, that we can fully understand its meaning.[1]

[1] This style is so distinct in itself that it would be extremely convenient if any one could invent a name to distinguish it clearly from other styles without being pedantic. I should like to call it "vine architecture," from its most marked characteristic; but vine is not an adjective, and "vitic" or "vinous" would not only be wrong, but ridiculous; so I must leave the task to others. "Ampellic" would be unintelligible.

The principal *motivo* of the decoration of the palace at Mashita is a series of triangular pediments extending across the whole front. These are all equilateral in form, and the two sloping sides are adorned by quasi-cornices of acanthus leaves, evidently a reminiscence of a classical form, but far removed, as might be expected, from it in detail, the acanthus, especially, having the sharp, spicated form found in Justinian's time, but scarcely earlier. These triangles are generally filled with sculptured ornaments of great beauty and variety, but the principal ones, as shown in the woodcut, by vines growing out of vases, and bearing a profusion of fruit. The treatment of the vine here is full of vigorous conventionalism—very unlike the timid realism of Herod's Temple—and birds and beasts are introduced in a manner that would shock an adherent of the Second Commandment; but the changes are not greater than might be expected from their difference in date. Many, indeed, will be rather inclined to believe that any similarity that may exist must be accidental, and that no such forms could be preserved by tradition through so long a period of time. Yet architectural forms in true styles change slowly, and if any one will only remember how like the Corinthian order of the monument of Lysicrates at Athens, of the age of Alexander, is to that of the capitals of Diocletian's buildings at Spalatro, or to those of Constantine, he will not feel surprise at any persistence of form in countries maintaining a continuous civilisation.

Be this as it may, I feel convinced that between the time of Herod and Chosroes there existed the tradition, if not the continuous practice, of a style of tall-roofed, vine-adorned buildings, which eventually resulted in what now appears to us the unique and exceptional ornamentation of the palace at Mashita. It is unfortunately only too probable that sufficient fragments do not now remain to enable us to make out the story of the style in a full and satisfactory manner; but fragments do exist,[1] and the subject is so interesting that it is well worth while looking for them and trying to piece them together.

It would be quite out of place to attempt such a monograph here, though, if it were done, it would add a most interesting chapter to the general history of architecture. All that is here wanted is to point out that there exist in Syria a great many fragments of architectural art which, when gathered together, enable us to realise the style in which the Temple of Jerusalem was adorned when rebuilt by Herod. Others must judge how far they have been successfully combined in the plates that accompany this restoration. It would not be difficult to carry the elaboration of these details to a much greater extent than has been attempted at present; but till the main features of the restoration

[1] A number of fragments, torn probably from a desecrated building in this style in Syria, now form the principal adornment of the apse of the church of Murano near Venice.

are accepted, it is not only confusing, but a waste of labour, to spend time on accessories. The internal fittings of the Temple were in all ages of wood, and for these, of course, no illustrative examples now exist; and I have, consequently, been obliged to borrow from Persepolis the forms I fancy were probably nearest in style. In the external design, however, no form has been adopted for which an authority cannot be quoted among existing remains in Syria, and they are put together so as to reproduce, as nearly as I can realise them, from the description of Josephus and others, the form and appearance of that once celebrated building; with what measure of success, others must be left to decide.

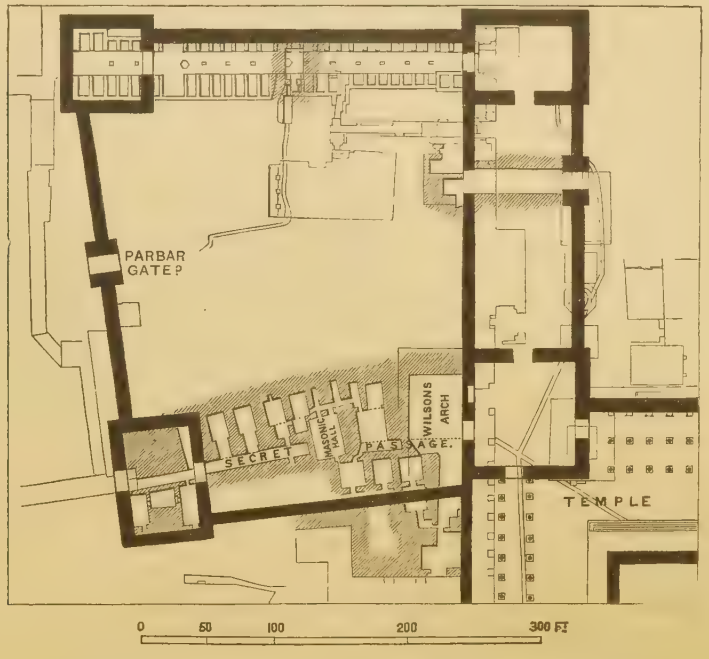
CHAPTER XI.

THE TOWER ANTONIA.

NOTWITHSTANDING recent explorations on the spot, the form and arrangement of this important fortress of the Temple still remain matters of more or less uncertainty. The first step in the right direction was made by Major Wilson in 1865, when he discovered the arch bearing his name at a distance of about 600 feet from the south-west angle of the Haram area. This was afterwards followed up by Captain Warren with his usual misdirected zeal and energy, and resulted in the discovery of a series of vaulted chambers of various ages, extending westward across the valley to about 260 feet from the Haram wall. I cannot gather from his writings, that Captain Warren formed even a theory as to what the vaults represented, or to what building they belonged; but he resolutely set his face against their being parts of the Antonia, because, according to his views of the Temple, its fortress was situated 800 or 900 feet farther north than these vaults. Having no clue to guide him, he seems to have groped on from apartment to apartment, without knowing what to look for, or understanding what he had found; and, what is worse, his discoveries are published only in so fragmentary and unscientific a manner that it is extremely difficult to others to make any use of them,[1] and I by no means feel confident that I have in all instances rightly apprehended what really was found on the spot. The great difficulty, however, in utilising these researches is that in no instance did Captain Warren find—indeed, he does not seem to have looked for—an external wall; all, consequently, that he discovered is a series of irregular chambers, sometimes in one, sometimes in two storeys; some ancient, others rebuilt in modern times, and certainly connected with the Haram area, though at what spot and in what manner remains to be determined. The one point that seems perfectly certain is, that, if my restoration of the Temple is correct, these must be the foundations of buildings belonging to the fortress Antonia. Either all that is said above

[1] Major Wilson informs me that he has found it impossible to protract Captain Warren's data in such a manner as to make them agree with the Ordnance Survey. The explanation of the discrepancy, as I understand it, is that Captain Warren only jotted down in a hurried manner his discoveries as he made them, intending to go over the whole with the sappers, when they were complete, and make a careful survey of them. On his return from Jericho, however, he found the vaults closed by order of the pasha, and he was never able afterwards to obtain access to them.

about the size and disposition of the Temple falls to the ground or the Antonia stood where it is marked on the plan in the annexed woodcut, and included all the ground on which these chambers are situated. It would, therefore, be extremely interesting if the explorations were sufficiently complete to enable us to restore them as they existed at the time when Pilate resided in this fortress; but nothing really depends on our being able to do so. It is sufficient for all historical and topographical purposes to know that they belonged to the Antonia; their exact form is of comparatively little consequence, at present at least.



44.—PLAN OF THE ANTONIA ACCORDING TO JOSEPHUS.

In consequence of the failure of these explorations to afford us the information requisite for a complete restoration, we are still left mainly to rely on Josephus for what we know of the Antonia; and as all, or nearly all, he says about it is contained in one short chapter,[1] it may add to the clearness of what follows if we make a short abstract of it.

"The Antonia is situated at that angle of the Temple where the northern and western porticos of the outer Temple meet. It stands on a rock 50 cubits in height, and everywhere steep. This rock, however"—he goes on to explain—"was

[1] B. J. v. 5, 8.

everywhere cased in stone, not only for ornament, but to render it more defensible. On this rock or terrace there was a wall or parapet 3 cubits in height, within which the area of the Antonia was covered with buildings 40 cubits in height internally, having the form and grandeur of a palace. This was again subdivided into rooms and all manner of conveniences, such as courts, baths, spacious barracks, and all the things that were necessary or useful for cities, but having the appearance of a palace. Besides the central block, there were four towers at the four angles, three of which were 50 cubits in height, but that at the south-eastern angle, where it joined the porticos of the Temple, was 70 cubits high, and had passages leading down to these porticos by which the Roman garrison that always occupied the tower had at all times access to the Temple."

For its dimensions we have nothing beyond the impression we gain from the above, except the expression that the Temple, with the Antonia, measured 6 stadia in circumference,[1] and consequently it must have been a quadrangular figure, measuring from 300 to 400 feet on each face, according as it may be determined how far the one building overlapped the other. We know from the incidents of the war that it did not cover the whole of the northern face of the Temple, because Titus erected banks there with the intention of storming the Temple long before he had obtained possession of the Antonia;[2] and the question is, Did Josephus consider the Temple was a building, as he says, measuring 4 stadia, one stadium on each side, and the Antonia one of 300 feet on each face, and add the two together as making 6 stadia, or did he allow for the overlap and measure carefully 3600 feet of wall on the perimeter of the two? Such exactitude is extremely improbable, but it is between 3400 and 3600 feet that the limits of deviation lie, and the difference is unimportant, for present purposes at least.

The position of the Antonia relatively to the Temple is defined as clearly by Josephus as anything can be done by words. The tower at the south-eastern angle of the Antonia stood inside the north-western angle of the Temple, and was what prevented the Temple being an exact square, and its destruction was consequently necessary to fulfil the prophecy that, when the Temple became four square, the city would be destroyed.[3] This is even more clear from the events of the siege, for after the Romans had obtained possession of the Antonia, the Jews cut off 20 cubits from the northern and as much from the western portico, in order to detach them from the tower, so that the Romans might not have access to their roofs and so command the Court of the Gentiles, from which they were at that time attacking the inner court of the Temple.[4] The dimensions of this angle-tower in plan are unfortunately not given to us. I have drawn it as 96 feet square, which represents as nearly as may be the dimensions of the White Tower in the Tower of London (96 by 116 feet), the height of both being about the same (70 cubits). The dimensions of the other

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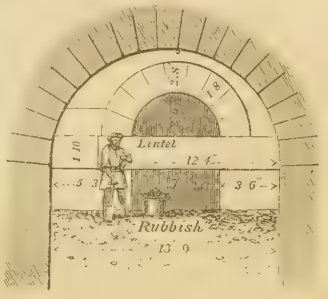
[1] B. J. v. 5, 2. [2] B. J. v. 7, 2. [3] B. J. vi. 5, 4. [4] B. J. vi. 2, 9; vi. 3, 2; vi. 4, 1.

three towers in plan were probably smaller in the same proportion to their height, which was only 50 cubits, and their position cannot be determined with the same absolute precision as that of the great tower. Still, that at the south-western angle may, I fancy, be fixed with very tolerable certainty.

At a distance of a little more than 200 feet westward from the Haram area, there is a group of three chambers, so disposed that they look like the interior of such a tower as we are looking for. The lowest of the chambers has a postern[1] (woodcut No. 45) which is of precisely the same class of masonry as that of the Gate of the Prophet of the Temple, and of the original part of the Huldah Gateway (woodcut No. 47), and is nearly on the same level. We may, consequently, assume with considerable confidence that all three were built by Herod, and are parts of the same design, and if this is so, this one could hardly be anything but a part of the Antonia. Till, however, we get a glimpse of the outside walls that enclosed these chambers, we must pause. As before mentioned, it never seems to have occurred to Captain Warren that it was the outside and not the inside of this labyrinth of chambers which was all essential for determining their use and extent. This deficiency could, however, be easily supplied, in so far as this angle is concerned, and when this is done, we shall have at least one element for settling this most interesting question of topography.



45.—ARCH IN SOUTH-WESTERN TOWER OF THE ANTONIA.
(From a sketch by Captain Warren.)

The northern limit I have fixed, for the present, at the Cotton Bazaar; but this is merely a guess. It looks like a causeway that might and would be built on a wall, but whether this is so or not depends on an examination, on the spot, by some one who knows what is old, what new, and who examines the place with the intention of finding this out. If it should turn out that this is so, the two northern towers would be situated one at each end of the bazaar, the western one in the street Elwad, the eastern one in the Haram area, at such a distance inwards as would accord with the position of the eastern wall of the Antonia, wherever that may be fixed, hereafter. For the present I have assumed this to be that of the terrace wall of the platform of the Dome of the Rock, in the same manner as I believe the southern wall of that platform was almost certainly the northern boundary of the Temple. I cannot, however, quite divest myself at times of the idea that the western wall of the Haram may be the eastern wall of the Antonia. That that wall was the second wall of Jerusalem, I proved, or attempted to prove, when I first wrote on the topography of Jerusalem,[2] and I have seen or heard nothing since to shake my faith in that determination; but

[1] Recovery of Jerusalem, p. 93.

[2] Ancient Topography of Jerusalem, p. 41, pl. iii.

how much of the old wall may have been utilised in building the Antonia, or enclosed in it, are questions that I fear must be left for future investigations.

Starting from these data, and correcting them by such local indications as exist, I fancy the external dimensions of the Temple with the Antonia must be very nearly as follows :—

	Feet.	
South face of Antonia	260	
West face of Antonia	400	
North face of Antonia.	400	
East side of Antonia	300	
	——	1360
Adding to this 4 stadia as the perimeter of the Temple .		2400
We have in round numbers		3760
But from this we must deduct for the overlap . . .		160
Leaving exactly the 6 stadia or		3600 feet;

which Josephus states as the perimeter of the two. This minute accuracy is, of course, only a coincidence, and is stated as such; but, after admitting all reasonable rectifications, the result is so nearly the same as to afford a fair presumption that this is what Josephus really meant to express.[1]

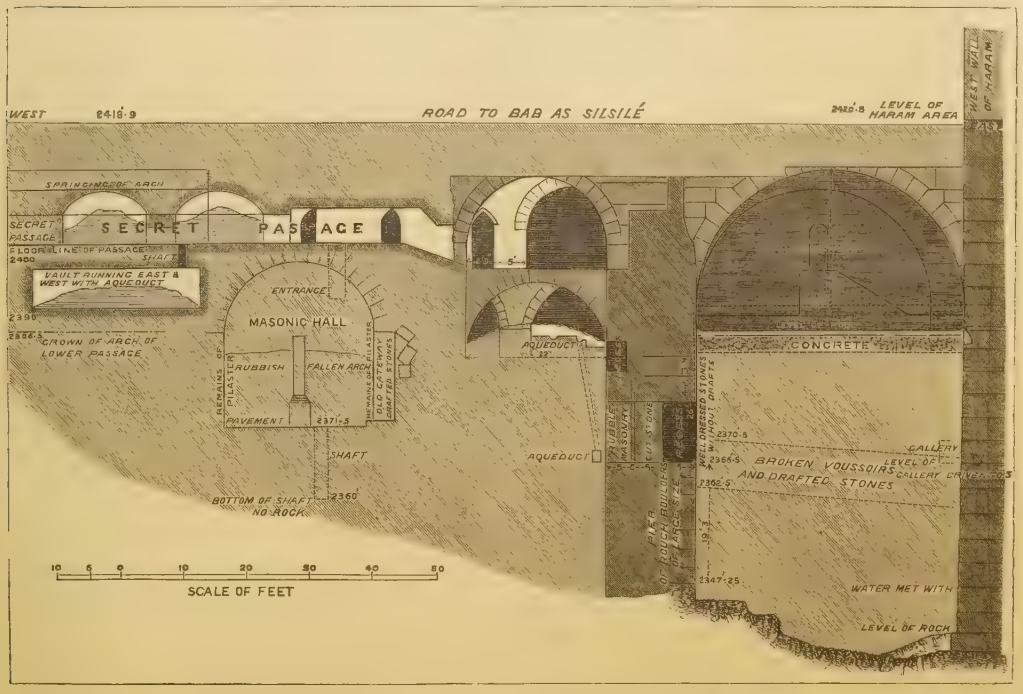
The height of the rock on which Josephus said the tower stood (50 cubits) need not astonish us, inasmuch as Captain Warren found the Haram wall, alongside Wilson's arch, to be founded on the rock at a depth of 84 feet below the level of the Temple area, and as the rock in the Haram must be very near the surface, and within 400 feet of that spot rises to 20 feet above it, it looks very much as if there was a cliff here such as Josephus describes. Indeed, the more carefully the question is examined, the more probable does it appear that the western face of the rocky Zion, before it was covered with masonry, was a cliff, on the western edge of which the Holy of Holies was situated.

Among the chambers discovered by Captain Warren on the site of the Antonia is one which he called the Masonic Hall, and which, he states, "has every appearance of being the oldest piece of masonry visible in Jerusalem, with the exception of the sanctuary walls, and perhaps as old as they."[2] From the appearance of the capital, of which he gives a drawing, I should feel inclined to agree with the verdict. If the drawing is to be depended upon, it cannot be later than the time of Herod, and may be very much earlier. The most interesting peculiarity of this chamber is that on its floor stands a truncated column, no part of the construction, for the chamber is vaulted above the pillar, but just such a pillar as criminals would be tied to to be scourged. Such an arrangement, in such a dungeon, if it occurred in a German mediæval castle, would excite no other remark

[1] The evidence is conflicting; but I cannot help sometimes suspecting that the Acra and the Antonia are one and the same place.

[2] Recovery of Jerusalem, p. 89.

than that its existence is a curious confirmation of what we know of the manners and customs of the times when the fortress was erected. I by no means intend to assert that this is the identical column to which Christ was bound. It may be that, when Constantine built the Dome of the Rock, he thought it necessary to identify, on the spot, all the scenes of the Passion, as the Crusaders did afterwards, and placed a column in one of the dungeons of the Antonia for that purpose; and this may be his work. Be this as it may, I look upon it as quite certain that this so-called Masonic Hall was one of the prison cells of the Antonia; that the



46.—SECTION, EAST AND WEST, THROUGH WILSON'S ARCH AND THE ADJOINING CHAMBERS.
(From an unpublished plate by Major Wilson.[1])

Antonia was the Prætorium of the Romans, and the residence of Pilate; and that it was on its pavement,[2] and in its halls and cells, that the principal events of the Passion took place; and consequently, that if this is not the actual cell in which the pillar stood to which Christ was bound, it must have been in a very similar one, close at hand.

One of the most important discoveries which Captain Warren made in this

[1] See also Recovery of Jerusalem, plate facing page 81.

[2] John xix. 13.

neighbourhood was that of a secret underground passage extending across the valley from the city to the Temple. It is described in detail in the 'Recovery of Jerusalem,' page 90, and shown in section in the last woodcut, No. 46. To me it does not appear doubtful that this is the secret passage mentioned by Josephus in the 15th book of his 'Antiquities,' on finishing the description of the Temple as rebuilt by Herod.

As that passage is usually read, it is understood to state that this passage led from the Antonia to the eastern gate of the inner Temple (the gate Nicanor), and that Herod was allowed by the Jews to build a tower over that gateway in which he and his Gentile successors might take refuge in the event of any *émeute*. Such a translation bears its refutation on its very face, when we recollect that, at a later period, when the Jews discovered that Agrippa could look into the courts of the Temple from the new room he had erected in his palace in the city over the Xystus, they raised the western wall of the Temple[1] so as to prevent this profanation, though he could not see either the altar or any of the most sacred parts of the precincts from the spot where the palace was situated, however high it might be raised. Besides this, in the next preceding paragraph,[2] we are told that Herod was not allowed to enter the inner courts of the Temple, even when they were in course of erection, when his presence and assistance might have been useful. To pretend under these circumstances that he was allowed to build a tower to which he had secret access into the very middle of the inner Temple, and whence he could see all that passed inside, and even look into the Holy Place, is something too absurd to be for one moment entertained. Besides, why should he seek to fly from the Antonia, which was the strongest place in Jerusalem, to a gate of the Temple which, though it might be safe against external assaults, was certainly the last place in Jerusalem where a Gentile king would seek refuge against an insurrection of the Jewish priesthood or laity? Commonsense tells us that what he really did was to construct a secret means of communication between the Palace in the city, which was unfortified, and where he was in great danger in the event of any rising of the people, to the Antonia, which was the citadel wherein he would be in safety, if anywhere, in Jerusalem. The passage in Josephus is contorted and clumsily expressed, but will, I believe, bear the following interpretation:—"And there was also made for the king, a secret passage leading from the Antonia (to the palace), extending as far as the inner Temple by its eastern door, upon or over which (door) he also constructed a tower for himself, that he might be able to get up into it, through the underground passage, in order to guard against any sedition that might be made by the people against their kings."[3]

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[1] Ant. xx. 8, 11.

[2] Ant. xv. 11, 5.

[3] Κατεσκευάσθη δὲ καὶ κρυπτὴ διῶρυξ τῷ Βασιλεῖ, φέρουσα μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀντωνίας μέχρι τοῦ ἔσωθεν ἱέρου πρὸς τὴν ἀνατολικὴν θύραν, ἐφ' ἧς αὐτῷ καὶ πύργον κατεσκεύασεν, ἵνα ἐχῇ διὰ τῶν ὑπογαίων εἰς αὐτὸν ἀνεῖναι, τὸν ἐκ τοῦ δήμου νεωτερίσμον ἐπὶ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι φυλαττόμενος. Ant. xv. 11, 7.

This translation, which has been revised by a good Greek scholar, I believe represents the meaning of the text better than any other that has yet been proposed.

In the last woodcut (No. 46) the passage is represented as terminating eastward in the archway next preceding to Wilson's arch. At one time I had in consequence drawn these arches as included in, and, in fact, forming part of the basement of, the great south-eastern tower of the Antonia, placing it astride on the Temple wall; but I am assured that such a position is untenable, otherwise the marks of the southern wall of the tower must have been discovered by the excavations that were made there by Captain Warren. It seems, however, that all the explorations at this angle were made at haphazard, no one knowing what to look for; and till these are systematically resumed, with a distinct purpose, on the spot, it is idle to speculate on details from such materials as we possess. Be this as it may, I look upon it as quite certain that the south-eastern tower of the Antonia stood at this angle of the Temple, partly in it, partly outside, and that Wilson's arch so called was either a part of it or at least attached to it. I also look upon it as nearly as certain that the secret passage discovered by Captain Warren is that mentioned by Josephus as connecting the palace with the tower over the eastern doorway of the Antonia which led into the Temple itself. Its existence here is another testimony, if any were wanted, to the correctness of the position assigned by me to the Antonia, and, within certain limits, also to its form, as shown in the plan given in woodcut No. 44.

Within the limits of the Antonia, as above defined, there is a passage of ancient masonry 125 feet north of Wilson's arch, which, when examined with more care and delineated, may get us out of a topographical difficulty, and vindicate the correctness of Josephus in a manner which would be highly satisfactory. At page 85 it was pointed out that Josephus describes four gates as leading from the Temple to the city, while we are only able to identify three. If this or the corresponding opening in the outer wall of the Antonia can be made out to be one of the two gates leading to the suburbs, the whole will be clear. There is nothing in Josephus' description to lead us to suppose he enumerated them from north to south, or *vice versa*. The two Parbar gates might be anywhere. That leading to the Asmonean palace was certainly the one now known as the Gate of the Chain; that with the steps was the one which led across the valley to the Stoa Basilica, while there is nothing in his text to indicate the position of the other two. At the same time, it is quite clear that Josephus considered the Antonia as a part of the Temple. Its description as such is included in the 5th chapter of his 5th book, which is exclusively devoted to the Temple, and, throughout, they are spoken of as one and the same place, and included in the same perimeter of 6 stadia. A gate

of the Antonia may therefore have been described by him a gate of the Temple, they being considered as one and the same place.

Whether the plan of the Antonia given in woodcut No. 44 is or is not quite correct can only be ascertained when explorations are carried out on the spot with the special intent of investigating its boundaries. Meanwhile, however, it enables us to understand certain operations of the siege, which hitherto have seemed inexplicable.

When Titus had mastered the first wall—that of Agrippa—and was encamped within its precincts, it became indispensable for him to get possession of the second wall, which formed, as it were, a curtain connecting the north-western bastions of the city and the Antonia. The position and length of this wall, I consider as perfectly ascertained. It extended from the gate of Gennath, which was situated to the eastward of the Hippicus, now known as the Kasr Jalud, past the Damascus Gate, which belonged to it, and thence trended southward, forming what is now the western boundary of the northern part of the Haram area, till it met the Antonia[1] at its north-eastern angle. It was consequently not until he had obtained possession of this second wall that Titus was in a position to attack the northern face of the Antonia. At the same time, it is not quite clear why he did not attack its eastern face. It may have been that there was a ditch there, now filled up,[2] or some obstacle we do not now see; or it may have been that any operations he undertook against that face would have been exposed to attacks on their flank from the defenders of the north wall of the Temple. Be this as it may, he erected two banks against the northern face of the Antonia, and two against the corresponding face of the Temple.[3] John, however, was able from the inside of the Antonia to undermine the two that had been erected against its northern face, and to burn them, to the great discouragement of the Romans. A second attempt at the same place was, however, successful,[4] and the Romans penetrated into the interior of the Antonia, but were very much disgusted at finding a second wall, which Josephus represents as run up in haste by John and his faction during the siege. This, however, can hardly be quite correct. A besieged garrison may throw up earthworks during an investment, but to build defensive walls of stone is an operation that would be very difficult, to say the least of it; unless, indeed, some foundation or structure previously existed on the spot, which could be converted into a temporary defence. Feeling this to be the case, I have drawn it running north and south, where I think it extremely probable a terrace wall existed anteriorly; but if it is thought more probable that it ran east and west

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[1] B. J. v. 4, 2. Now that my stupid mistake of reading 40 instead of 14, as the number of towers in this wall, is found out, there seems no difficulty whatever about it. It must have been as shown in my plan of the city, in my Topography of Jerusalem, and in the Dictionary of the Bible, with the slightest possible deviation either way.

[2] B. J. v. 4, 2.

[3] B. J. iv. 12, 4.

[4] B. J. vi. 1, 4.

facing the attack, there is nothing now known to contradict such an hypothesis. When this second wall was taken by stratagem in a night attack,[1] it is easy to see how its possession gave the Romans access to the south-eastern tower, which was the keep of the fortress, by which they seem to have entered pell-mell with the Jews, and thus consequently gained access to the Temple, to which all their subsequent operations were confined. The plan also makes it easy to understand how Titus, being in possession of the second wall, was enabled to bring up the supports through the breach which had been made in the northern wall of the Antonia by the mining operations of John, and to follow the retreating Jews into the Temple itself.[2]

It would be easy to extend these descriptions of the siege operations to a much greater length, were this the place for doing so. All, however, that seems to be required here is to explain that the plan of the Antonia now proposed does reconcile the descriptions of Josephus with his narrative of the events of the siege in a most satisfactory manner. There may be other plans or other means by which this may be done, but I am not aware of any one that will stand the test of serious examination.[3] After all, as said before, it is the spade that must decide the question, but, meanwhile, this plan of the Antonia may probably be accepted as meeting all the local and written exigencies of the case, as at present known.

It is to be hoped, however, that these investigations on the spot will be resumed and carried out on a systematic plan, for, if I am correct in assuming that Wilson's arch and the underground chambers to the westward of it are parts of the substructures of the Antonia, there are few spots in Jerusalem more full of interest to the Christian topographer. No one, I believe, doubts that the Antonia was the Prætorium of the Romans and the residence of Pontius Pilate; and it consequently was within its precincts that some of the most pathetic and important concluding scenes of the Passion took place, and if the localities can be recognised, this will add much to the clearness of the narrative. It may be difficult to accomplish this, as the place has been so frequently rebuilt and repaired that it may not be easy to recognise its ancient arrangements. The locality, however, is not now sacred; so no difficulty would be experienced on that account; and if I am not mistaken, it is to us one of the most interesting of all the sacred localities to be found within the walls of Jerusalem.

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[1] B. J. vi. 1, 7.

[2] B. J. vi. 1, 7.

[3] Mr. Lewin's (Sketch of Jerusalem, pp. 198 *et seqq.*) is the most careful and judicious analysis I am acquainted with, but his detaching the Antonia wholly from the Temple, and placing an interval of 250 feet between them, seems to me quite fatal to his hypothesis and all the reasoning based upon it.

CHAPTER XII.

HISTORY OF THE TEMPLE AFTER THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM.

ALTHOUGH it is literally true that not one stone of all the great and glorious buildings described in the preceding pages now remains standing upon another above ground, yet it was long before the prophecy was fulfilled so fully as it now is. Indeed, down to the time when the Saracens, by building the mosque El Aksa in A.D. 688, successfully accomplished what Julian failed in attempting, the ruins of the Temple seem to have been so extensive as to be easily recognisable, and no one seems to have had any doubt or hesitation regarding them. It would, indeed, have been strange had it been otherwise. The buildings of the Temple were of the most massive description, far more so than most of the peristylar temples of the Romans; and had Jerusalem not continued to be an inhabited city, and a religious capital from the days of Hadrian downwards, there is no practical reason why the ruins of the Temple should not now be as distinct as those of the temples of Baalbec or Gerash, and of many other cities of Palestine. When once the Temple was burnt and desecrated, and the Jews banished from Jerusalem, there was no special reason why the Romans should have taken any great pains to clear away the ruins; nor did they undertake any such buildings in Jerusalem as might require them to have recourse to them as a convenient quarry for their constructions. Till Hadrian's time at least, the city seems to have been left absolutely desolate, and though a Roman garrison was left there, it was mainly for the purpose of keeping it so, by preventing the Jews from returning to their ancient abodes. Hadrian seems to have erected the place into a Roman colony, with the name of Ælia Capitolina, but chiefly to keep the Jews in check, and, if we may trust the Bordeaux Pilgrim, erected a statue of himself on the site of the Temple, apparently to symbolise the supremacy of the Roman secular power over that of the Jewish theocracy.

Had the Christians been then in power, the case might have been different. Owing to the solemn malediction pronounced against the Temple by Christ,[1] they always looked on it as accursed, and not only never built anything within its precincts, but might have done a good deal to hasten the fulfilment of a prophecy which they were impatient to see accomplished. St. Chrysostom, about the year 400 A.D., exclaims, "There shall not remain one stone upon another. How then

[1] Matthew xxiv. 2; Mark xiii. 2; Luke xix. 44.

did it remain? one may say. But what is this? For neither has the prediction fallen to the ground. For he said these things, either indicating its entire desolation or at that spot where he was." And he adds, "There are parts of it destroyed unto the foundations," thus clearly indicating that there were other parts which at his day were still standing and easily recognisable.[1] A little earlier, Cyril speculates on the time "when the prophecy shall be fulfilled, either through decay of time, or a demolition for the use of new buildings, or as ensuing from other causes."[2] But besides these rhetorical flourishes, we have the distinct and prosaic description of things as they were in the time of Constantine, when the Bordeaux Pilgrim visited Jerusalem. Everything he says about the Temple not only indicates that the ruins were perfectly distinct in his day, but his account of them is such that we are able to recognise without difficulty all the features he describes; and as his is the only account we have, written between the time of Titus and that of Constantine, it is of more than usual interest.[3]

There can be very little doubt that the tower he first mentions is that which still exists at the south-east angle of the Haram area, and as it was not then, in all probability, buried with rubbish nearly to the extent it now is, it might very well, as the highest building then existing in Jerusalem, be taken for the pinnacle of the Temple mentioned in the Temptation scene. The tradition that Solomon's palace was there is both curious and instructive. Some vestiges of it must have remained, or it would hardly have been recognised, as history is so singularly silent regarding it, after its destruction at the Captivity.

The two statues *of* Hadrian must apparently be two statues *by* Hadrian, inasmuch as at a subsequent period St. Jerome distinctly states—and no one knew better than he did—that, where the Temple was, a statue of Hadrian and an image of Jupiter were standing in his day.[4] As it is scarcely probable that a statue of Jupiter would be left in the open air, exposed to all the inclemency of the weather, the presumption is that Hadrian so far restored the Temple as to render it suitable for the reception of this image and appropriate to the worship of the principal deity of his Pantheon.

The most interesting particular, however, mentioned by the Pilgrim is the "Lapis Pertusus," which was then the Wailing Place of the Jews, and afterwards

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[1] Hom. in Matt. iii. p. 994; Migne, vol. lviii. 685, 686.

[2] Cat. Lect. xv. 15, 890.

[3] "Ibi est angulus turris excelsissimæ, ubi Dominus ascendit et dixit ei qui tentabat eum: Si filius Dei es, mitte te deorsum. Ibi est lapis angularis magnus de quo dictum est, Lapidem quem reprobaverunt ædificantes ille factus est ad caput anguli. Et sub pinna turris ipsius sunt cubicula plurima, ubi Salomon palatium habebat. . . . Et in æde ipsa, ubi Templum fuit, quod Salomon ædificavit, in marmore, ante aram, sanguinem Zachariæ dicunt hodie fusum; etiam parent vestigia clavorum militum qui eum occiderunt, per totam aream ut putes in cera esse fixam. Sunt ibi et statuæ duæ Hadriani et non longe de statuis, lapis pertusus, ad quem veniunt Judæi singulis annis et unguunt eum, et lamentant se cum gemitu, et vestimenta sua scindunt, et sic recedunt." Tobler, Palæstinæ Descriptiones, pp. 3, 4.

[4] "Ubi quondam erat Templum et religio Dei, ibi Hadriani statua et Jovis idolum collocatum est." Hieron. Com. in Isaiam; Valesius, vol. iv. p. 37.

became the Sakhra of the Saracens, and the memory of which still plays so important a part in the history of the Haram area.

At the time of Constantine the persecution of the Jews seems to have died out, and they were apparently allowed free access to Jerusalem and the Temple area; and as it appears that the buildings were still sufficiently entire for every part to be recognisable, it is evident there would be only two stones in the area for which the Jews could feel any particular reverence: one, the stone of foundation, on which the Ark is said to have stood in the Holy of Holies; the other some stone or stones representing the Altar. It could hardly have been the former, which is not mentioned in the Bible, while so little importance is attached to it, either in the Talmud or elsewhere, that even its existence is doubtful;[1] and still more so because there is no reason why it should be *pertusus*, and no tradition that it ever was so. On the other hand, there certainly was at the principal angle of the Altar—the south-western—a stone bored with two holes as two thin nostrils,[2] and which played a most important part in the service of the Altar. Whatever may have been the case with the upper part of the Altar, here certainly was a stone which had not escaped "the curse of iron," and was not only hewn but pierced, and, from its position as at that angle of the Altar nearest the Temple which could be seen from the Court of Israel, must always have been both conspicuous and important. It was, consequently, of all the stones of the Temple, the one most likely for the Jews to fix upon as the representative of the Altar of their God; and, as we shall presently see, there seems little doubt that this corner-stone of the Altar was the Sakhra not only of the Jews, but at one time of the Saracens also.

We have no means of knowing to what extent Constantine may have utilised the materials of the Temple for his buildings in the Haram area. It is hardly probable that he would employ the stones of the Temple itself for his churches, but there seems no reason why the pillars of the outer porticos or external walls of the courts might not be so employed. If we had any remains of his Basilica, we might probably answer these questions without difficulty. The internal decorations, however, of the Anastasis were on too small a scale to enable its builders to utilise any parts of the porticos that are described by Josephus; and from the various remodellings that have since taken place, it is, and always must be, extremely difficult to follow any particular feature to its final resting-place.

The attempt of Julian the Apostate to rebuild the Temple in the year 363, and the miraculous manner in which this design is said to have been defeated, is one of the most curious episodes in the whole history of the building. Had

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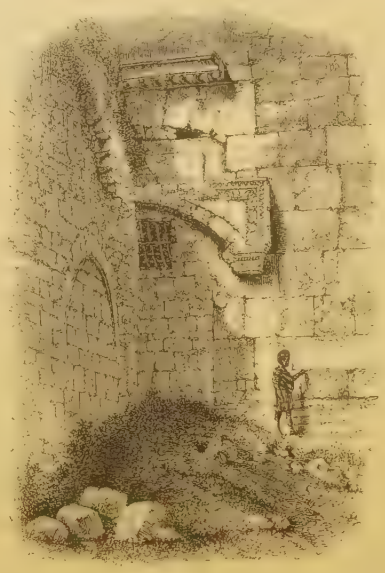
[1] On this subject, see a paper in the Quarterly Reports, P. E. F. 1876, p. 23, by Dr. Chaplin, and another in the same, on p. 62, by Captain Warren. The reasoning in these papers appears to me so singularly vague and inconclusive as hardly to affect the question.

[2] Middoth iii. 2.

Julian lived six months or a year longer, it would no doubt have altered considerably the whole conditions of the problem. The subject was taken up by him with enthusiasm, and, as Gibbon says, "In this propitious moment men forgot their avarice, and women their delicacy. Every purse was opened, and every hand claimed a share in the pious labour;"[1] and had this continued any time, all trace of the old Temple would have disappeared, and a new one been erected in its stead, which might have been more perplexing to future enquirers than the desolation that now reigns on the site. As it is, the only trace of Julian's handiwork we now find on the spot is a fragment of a frontispiece attached to the Herodian work of the Huldah Gateway externally. To judge from its style, we may feel confident that it is nearly of the same age as the architecture of the Golden Gateway, but slightly more modern; while the imperfect mode in which it is attached, so that daylight can be seen between it and the wall, shows that it is part of some restoration attempted about his time. It is probably, also, to the same attempt that we owe the four pillars now standing in the gateway below, and some of the alterations in the domed hall beneath; but there is nothing above-ground ascribable to Julian's age. Indeed, it is probable, from the short time the work was in hand, that more was done in clearing away the ruins and in collecting materials than in any rebuilding. At all events, it is quite evident that there was no doubt in the minds of those who undertook it, either as to the site or the form of the building the restoration of which they had undertaken. At least, not one hint of any such hesitation is to be found in any writer of that age.



47.—Julian's Affix to the Huldah Gateway. (From a photograph.)

It is not necessary here to attempt to investigate the true nature of the frightful globes of fire and other supernatural phenomena which interrupted the operations and drove the labourers in terror from the works.[2] For our present purpose it is enough to observe that the exultation with which the news was received by the whole Christian world, and the implicit belief in a Divine interposition, are sufficient to prove how utterly accursed the Temple of the Jews was held to have been, and how great a blow to Christianity its

[1] History of Decline and Fall, vol. iii. p. 166.

[2] Ammianus Marcell. xxiii. 1.

rebuilding would have been considered. By Divine interference this impious attempt was defeated, and all the Christian world rejoiced at its victory.

Shortly after this, in the beginning of the fifth century, a Christian Roman poet sings:—

> "Porta manet Templi speciosam quam vocitarunt,
> Egregium Salomonis opus, sed majus in illa
> Christi opus emicuit; nam claudus surgere jussus
> Ore Petri stupuit damnatos currere gressus." [1]

That this refers to the gate Nicanor of the Talmud, the Beautiful Gate of the Bible, does not seem to admit of any doubt; and if it was standing at that time, and the statue of Jupiter was still erect in his day, as St. Jerome would lead us to believe, in the Temple, or at least on its site, there could in the fifth century be no doubt as to site or limits of the Jewish Temple.

One other author before the time of the Moslem invasion mentions the Temple in a manner that would lead us to suppose that its parts were all well known at the time he wrote. Antoninus Martyrus visited Jerusalem shortly after the buildings undertaken by Justinian in the Haram area had been completed, in or about the year 570.[2] "We prayed," he says, "in the Prætorium where our Lord was heard, which now is the Basilica of Santa Sophia. Before the ruins of the Temple of Solomon water runs down below the platform to the fountain of Siloam (by the Water Gate). Alongside of the portico of Solomon in the Basilica is the seat on which Pilate sat when he heard our Lord,"[3] which he describes as still exhibiting the impression of his feet, and other particulars that do not interest us here. Except that he appears mistaken in the historical fact that the Prætorium was the Antonia, and not the Palace of Solomon, all this seems distinct and clear, and perfectly in accord with what we know of the localities. It is satisfactory to find that the old judgment-seat of Solomon "alongside of his portico" was still known and correctly described in the sixth century; and the water running down from the Water Gate is also exactly what we would expect, and what, curiously enough, we find mentioned even in the Talmud, where it is said the Water Gate was so called because "through it the water returned out, and in future it will issue from under the threshold of the house."[4] The importance of all this, however, will be more apparent presently, when we come to speak of the acts and words of the Saracens, who, not long after Justinian's time, appeared on the scene, and successfully accomplished what Julian had attempted in vain.

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[1] Aurelius Prudentius, Diptychon, xlvi. The poet was born in Spain A.D. 348, and came to Rome A.D. 407. It was apparently after that date that the poem was written.

[2] I follow the edition of this author published by Dr. T. Tobler, St. Gallen, 1863.

[3] "Oravimus in Prætorio ubi auditus est Dominus, et modo est Basilica sanctæ Sophiæ, ante ruinas templi Salomonis, sub platea aqua decurrit ad fontem Siloam. Secus porticum Salomonis in ipsa basilica est sedes, in qua sedit Pilatus quando Dominum audivit. Petra autem ibi est quadrangula, quæ stabat in medio prætorio, ad quam reus levabatur qui audiebatur," &c. Tobler, De locis sanctis St. Gallen, 1863, p. 25.

[4] Middoth ii. 6.

Saracenic Conquest.

The last scene of all that "ends this strange eventful history" is the rebuilding of the Temple by Abd-el-Malek, between the years 66 and 73 of the Hegira (A.D. 685–692); but before coming to this, it may be necessary to say a few words regarding some of the events that occurred at the conquest of Jerusalem by Omar, in the year 15 of the Hegira (A.D. 636), in order to explain what was then known of the Temple and its site. Unfortunately, the works in which these events are recorded do not come within the range of the ordinary reading of even learned Englishmen, and it is consequently easy for those who either form theories of the Temple at the shortest possible notice or refute those of others without notice at all, either to ignore them altogether or to make the most daring assertions regarding them.[1] It seems to me, however, impossible that any one can read the account of these events as narrated by the Patriarch Eutychius,[2] and afterwards by Jelal-ed-Dîn[3] and Mejr-ed-Dîn, without perceiving that the church in which the Patriarch Sophronius received Omar, when entering the city from the Mount of Olives, was the present Dome of the Rock, and that the church on the steps of which, facing the east, Omar did pray was the Basilica of Constantine, and that the exact spot was just inside the Golden Gateway. Had he received him in the present Church of the Holy Sepulchre—which is the only alternative—it seems impossible that any uncertainty could have existed as to whether that was the Temple of David or not; but the Patriarch may very well have dreaded the idea of a Mahomedan mosque being erected on the Temple site in such immediate proximity to the sacred places of the Christians, and have tried to explain to the Khalif that the whole area was already occupied by the Christians. When, however, he was defeated in this attempt by the local knowledge of Omar, who still claimed a place on which to build his mosque, the Patriarch replied, "I give to the Commander of the Faithful a place where he may build a Temple, which the Grecian emperors were unable to build" (alluding, apparently, to Julian's unsuccessful attempt). "The rock on which God spoke to Jacob, which Jacob called the Gate of Heaven, the Israelites the Holy of Holies. But, on one condition, that you will give me a rescript that you will build no other place of prayer within Jerusalem except that one," which Omar having written delivered it to the Patriarch. As there is no complaint of this treaty ever

[1] As I have already quoted these authorities in my Topography of Jerusalem, pp. 130 *et seqq.*, to a sufficient extent to enable any one to understand their bearing, I may be excused going over the subject again. Since I wrote in 1848 nothing new has been published on this special subject, so far as I am aware, except a translation of the work of Mejr-ed-Dîn, by Sauvaire, Paris, 1876. It is satisfactory, but adds very little to our previous knowledge.

[2] Annales. Interprete Ed. Pocockio. 2 vols. Oxon, 1658. He wrote, apparently, about A.D. 870.

[3] Fundgruben des Orients, vol. ii. pp. 83 *et seqq.* and vol. iv. pp. 158 *et seqq.* He wrote about 900 of the Hegira, say A.D. 1525. See also translation by Sauvaire, Paris, 1876.

[4] History of the Temple at Jerusalem, translated by James Reynolds for the Oriental Translation Fund, 1826.

having been violated, it is one proof at least that both the Aksa and the Dome of the Rock were not built by the Moslems. Eutychius, writing about a hundred years after these events, then goes on to say, "For when the Romans embraced Christianity, and Helena, the mother of Constantine, built churches in Jerusalem the place of the rock (Sakhra) and those adjacent to it were laid waste and so left; and they threw dust on the rock, so that a large dunghill was heaped upon it, and the Romans did not reverence it as the Jews had done, nor did they erect any church upon it, because the Lord had said, 'Behold, your house shall be left unto you desolate,' and again, 'There shall not be left one stone upon another that shall not be cast down and laid waste.'"[1]

Apparently there was not at that time any means of access to the Temple area from the north. The old wall of the Temple, or one in its place, seems to have been kept up as a barrier to divide the holy places of the Christians from the accursed locality of the Jews. On the east, access—if any—could only have been through the buildings of Justinian, and this may not have been convenient. The Patriarch, consequently, led Omar round to the gate Huldah, and though it was blocked up with rubbish, they penetrated through it, creeping on their hands and knees till they came to a plain place, "when Omar, looking to the right and left, exclaimed, 'God is great: by him who holds my soul in his hands, this is the Temple of David, from which the Prophet told me he had made the night journey.'[2] There they found the Sakhra they were looking for, covered with dung, which the Greeks had thrown there in contempt of the Jews." This Omar and his companions proceeded at once to remove with their hands, and in their cloaks, and having thrown it into the valley of Hinnom, cleared the place of defilement. They then proceeded to discuss how it should be utilised, when Kaab suggested that the mosque should be turned towards the Sakhra, but Omar replied, "That is the direction of the Jews; it would be better to build it before the Rock (Sakhra) that those who pray there may have before them the Kiblah of Mecca, and not that of Jerusalem," and, in effect, Omar did build the small mosque that still bears his name, exactly in the situation indicated, overhanging the southern wall at the south-east angle of the Mosque El Aksa.

So long as it was an open question whether the Sakhra was "the Stone of Foundation" in the Holy of Holies or the corner-stone of the Altar, it was also doubtful whether it was by the Prophet's Gate, or the gate Huldah that Omar penetrated to the Temple area. With the almost absolute certainty that we now have, that it was the latter, we arrive at a similar conviction that it was by the Water Gate that they crept in. Indeed, what Mejr-ed-Dîn says about "water running down the steps,"[3] coupled with the assertion of

[1] Eutychii Annales, Arab. et Lat. Oxon, 1658, vol. ii. p. 284.
[2] Mejr-ed-Dîn, Paris, 1876, p. 42. [3] Fundgruben des Orients, vol. iv. p. 160.

Antoninus Martyrus and the passage from the Middoth just quoted, renders this nearly certain. The truth of the matter is, Omar and all those about him knew exactly what they wanted, and where to look for it; and they went to their object direct and without hesitation, and with the knowledge we now have of the localities, we can follow them step by step without fail. If, on the contrary, we try to apply the narratives of the Mahomedan historians to the Sakhra, which now is under the Dome of the Rock, there is hardly a word in their descriptions which is intelligible. There are no underground passages by which Omar and his companions could creep up on hands and knees to find a great rock standing out "erect and alone," the highest part of a hill. Besides this, to hide with a dung-heap a rock 60 feet square, and from 10 to 20 feet in height, is more than the Christians are likely to have undertaken, whatever their contempt for the Jews may have been; and if it had been done, it would have required carts and horses for weeks to remove it, not the labour of a few men for a few hours with their hands and cloaks. If the Sakhra was a stone 4 or 5 feet square, and 18 inches high, all that we are told of it in these narratives is clear and intelligible. If it was the hill-top under the Dome of the Rock, not one word seems applicable. So Omar thought, when Sophronius tried to persuade him that the present Sakhra was identical with the old one; and though it would not now be considered polite to express oneself so strongly as he did on the subject, it now seems certain that any one who, after reading all the evidence, would still assert their identity would have no right to complain of almost any epithet that could be applied to him.

The first century of the Hegira is not one in which the Moslems indulged in any architectural magnificence in any part of the world, and Omar's little mosque, which he built behind the Sakhra, was probably more than sufficient for the religious requirements of the city of Jerusalem, which was then more essentially Christian than the town of Bethlehem now is. It may also have been that the Moslems felt themselves hampered by that clause in the capitulation which restricted them to one place of worship. They may, too, have felt unwilling to spend much money on a spot overlooked—on two sides at least—by Christian buildings of a magnificence they could not hope to rival, but the presence of which in that locality must have been gall and wormwood to the followers of the Prophet. Had the Jews adopted the new religion, as it was at one time hoped, during the life of Mahomet, they might have been induced to do, the case would have been widely different. Had they done so, there seems little doubt that the Lapis Pertusus of their Altar would have taken the place now occupied by the Black Stone of the Kaaba, and Jerusalem would have supplanted Mecca as the sacred city of the new faith. To accomplish this, however, it would have been necessary to obtain possession of the city and expel its Christian inhabitants. That the Arabs, without at least the aid

of the Jews, were not able to accomplish during the life of the Prophet, and by the time of Omar it was too late; Mecca was then the acknowledged Kiblah, and this could not be changed. The possession of the site of Solomon's Temple was, notwithstanding, still an object of ambition, not only because it was the spot from which Mahomet started on his famous night journey to Paradise, but also because its possession, with that of Hebron, served to connect the new religion with the traditions of the old one from Abraham and David downwards, and give it at once that antiquity so essential to stability in matters of faith.

Be this as it may, it is certain that the buildings in the Temple area remained pretty much in the state in which Omar had left them, till Abdulla-ibn-Zobeir seized on Mecca, and either interrupted the pilgrimages or levied taxes on them for his own benefit. In consequence of this, Abd-el-Malek ibn-Merwan, a Khalif of the house of Ommiah, reigning at Damascus, revived the idea of making Jerusalem a place of pilgrimage—whether the only one or not, is not quite clear—and, in order to do this, determined on rebuilding the Temple of Solomon on its original site. This time, however, it was not to conciliate the Jews, and consequently, though he centred his mosque on the Altar of David, and placed it at about the same distance from it, he did not attempt to restore the original Temple. On the contrary, he placed his mosque to the southward of the Altar instead of the west, and turned its Kiblah towards the sacred cities of the Prophet, thus combining the two Kiblahs into one, as Kaab had recommended Omar to do, half a century before that time.

Though obviously centred on the altar of the Jewish Temple, there is a peculiarity in the position of the mosque which for a long time seemed to me inexplicable. If we assume that the position of the Altar was known, nothing would have been so easy or so obvious for Abd-el-Malek as to have constructed the central nave of his mosque over the centre of the passage leading from the Huldah Gateway, and so, practically, to have incorporated that part of the old Temple symmetrically with his. This, however, was not done but at the expense of considerable constructive difficulty, the whole was pushed some twenty feet or more westward, evidently, as it now appears, to centre his nave, not on the centre of the Altar, but on the Lapis Pertusus or Sakhra at its south-western angle, which then represented the Altar of the Jews. It seems at least difficult to suggest any other motive for this curious change in the centre-line of the mosque, which could hardly have been accidental.[1]

In describing the addition Abd-el-Malek made to the modest building erected by Omar, two at least of the historians make use of an expression which, if applied to the present Sakhra, seems simple nonsense. It is said he so increased

[1] See plan of Aksa, Plate I.

the Temple (mosque) as to include the Sakhra within the sanctuary.[1] The present Sakhra is, and always was, in the centre of the building that contains it, and no possible augmentation could alter that fact. But if Abd-el-Malek is understood to have appropriated or enclosed the whole, or the greater part, of the Jewish Temple in his mosque, it may fairly be said that he brought the Jewish Altar within its limits. This might not be exactly true of a church or a temple as we usually understand the term, but a mosque is by no means necessarily a covered space, and, as at Mecca, the most holy objects and places are in the centre of an open court, and so it certainly seems to have been with the Sakhra here.

This, we learn with certainty, was the case at Jerusalem, from the historians of the Crusades. John of Würzburg, for instance, writing about the year 1170, states that, "at the Altar in the Temple, which is outside under the terrace, at a distance of more than 100 feet" (from the Templum Domini, or Dome of the Rock), "Zacharias was slain." "On the Altar," he adds, "in the time of the Old Testament, the Jews were accustomed to offer turtle-doves and pigeons, but afterwards the Saracens converted the Altar into a dial, which now exists there, towards the south, where many Saracens, even at this day, turn to prayer as is their habit to do, facing southwards."[2] There is in this no mention, it is true, of its being *pertusus*, though it would be difficult to describe more accurately its position, or the veneration in which it had always been held by the Moslems. Fortunately, the omitted reference to its being pierced is supplied by his companion Theodoricus. He describes it as situated between the eastern and southern boundaries of the external court, and mentions two theories regarding it; first, that it was the opening into the cisterns existing there, or that it was the place where Zacharias was slain.[3]

From all this it seems perfectly certain that the Lapis Pertusus of the Bordeaux Pilgrim, the Sakhra of Omar, and the Altar-stone of the Crusaders are one and the same thing, and nearly as certain that it was the corner-stone of the Altar of the Jews which was "pierced with two holes like nostrils."[4] The Saracens at least—if we may trust John of Würzburg—knew this perfectly, down to the end of the twelfth century.[5] So it could only have been after the

[1] "Auxit ita Templum ut petram inferret in Templi adytum." Eutychii Annales, ii. p. 364. El Macinus, Opera, studio Espenii, Lugd. 1625, p. 69.

[2] "In templo ad altare quod extra erat, sub clivo remotum a templo plus quam xx passus, Zacharias filius Barachiæ Martyr occubuit. Supra quod in veteri testamento Judæi turtures et columbas sacrifacere consueverant. Sed postea a Saracenis mutatum est altare illud in horologium, quod adhuc videri et notari potest, cum plures Saraceni etiam hodie, orandi causa, ad ipsum versus meridiem depositum, ad quem meridiem ipsi orare solent, veniunt." Pezii Thesaurus Anecdotorum novissimus, vol. i. pars iii. p. 495.

[3] "Inter Templum quoque et duo latera atrii exterioris, orientale scilicet et meridianum, lapis magnus situs est in modum altaris, qui secundum quorundam traditiones os est piscinarum ibidem consistentium, secundum aliorum vero opinionem Zachariam Baruchiæ filium ibidem peremtum fuisse designat." Theodoricus, Libellus de Locis sanctis. Tobler, p. 37.

[4] Middoth iii. 2.

[5] It is curious that all the authors, from the Bordeaux Pilgrim down at least to John of Würzburg, who mention the Altar of the Jews also notice the slaughter of Zacharias, and seem at least to point to the traces of that event as still visible on the spot.

Crusades, in the time probably of Saladin, that they adopted from the Christians the theory that the great Sakhra was the site of the Jewish Altar, and introduced all that mass of fables and incongruities that have since so perplexed all who have attempted to investigate the question.

From the time of the Crusades, the true Sakhra disappears from history, and the Jews have been forced to seek a wailing-place outside the Temple walls. They have, however, naturally selected that spot where they could approach most nearly to the Holy of Holies of their once loved Temple, and to the stone of that Altar which had been an object of their adoration since the days of Solomon.

To most of these points we shall have occasion to revert again when speaking of the buildings which Constantine and Justinian erected in the Haram area, but must conclude this branch of the subject by quoting the words of the last Christian author who, so far as I know, speaks of any other ruins of Solomon's Temple, except this one altar-stone, as existing in his day. The French bishop Arculfus was at Jerusalem in or before the year 795, when Abd-el-Malek was busy erecting the Aksa. "In that famous place," he says, "where once the glorious Temple stood, near the eastern wall, the Saracens are now erecting upon some ruins a square house of prayer, which would contain about three thousand persons."[1] The ruins here alluded to could only be those of the Temple itself, and with the attendant circumstances describe with absolute accuracy the position of things as we know from other authorities they existed in his day.

Although the Saracens respected the locality, it is hardly probable that they would have much or any respect for the buildings of the Jews, or the materials out of which they were constructed. It, consequently, probably was with the building of the Aksa that the great clearance of the Temple ruins was commenced. Constantine and Justinian may have taken materials from the same quarry, but it probably was in the eighth and subsequent centuries that the clearance of the Temple area was really effected: thus the prophecy, that not one stone should be left on another, was literally fulfilled, and our description of the Temple, and its history, consequently brought to its natural termination.

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[1] "Ceterum in illo famoso loco ubi quondam Templum magnifice constructum fuerat, in vicinia muri ab oriente locatum, nunc Saraceni quadrangularem orationis domum, quam subrectis tabulis et magnis trabibus super quasdam ruinarum reliquias vili fabricati sunt opere, ipsi frequentant, quæ utique domus tria hominum millia ut fertur capere potest." Acta Sanct. sæc. iii. pars 2, p. 524.

PART III.

CHRISTIAN AND SARACENIC BUILDINGS IN THE HARAM AREA.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

As the evidence now stands, or as it stood thirty years ago, there is no proposition connected with the topography of Jerusalem that, to my mind, is so clear and indisputable as that the buildings, popularly known as the Mosque of Omar—more correctly as the Dome of the Rock—and the Golden Gateway, are two of those described by Eusebius[1] as being erected by Constantine in honour of the death and resurrection of the Founder of the Christian religion.

I have no intention of again going over, for a third or fourth time, the evidence on which this conclusion is based. It has been already stated in detail in my 'Topography of Jerusalem,' in 1847, and a second time in a little work entitled 'Notes on Site of the Holy Sepulchre and the Temple at Jerusalem,' in 1861, and a third time in another work on 'The Holy Sepulchre and the Temple at Jerusalem,' in 1865, besides letters innumerable in the 'Athenæum' and other publications. I have nothing, on that point, to unsay of what I then advanced, and the argument was then, to my mind, so complete and irrefragable that those who were not convinced by it then will hardly be moved from their unbelief by hearing it repeated over again once more. Either it is, that they are too ignorant of the value of the architectural evidence, from which these conclusions were principally drawn, to appreciate its importance, or they have motives—some will, no doubt, think, highly respectable—for resisting what may be the truth, fearing that it would unsettle the faith of the multitude in certain traditions, to which they cling with a tenacity worthy of a better cause. It is not, therefore, intended on the present occasion to repeat what has already been said in sufficient detail, but only to add such new pieces of evidence as have been brought to light by recent researches or explorations on the spot. They are not, perhaps, in themselves, sufficiently distinct to convert those who were not convinced before;

[1] Vita Constantini, iii. 26 *et seqq.*

but, as they all tend in the same direction, they may serve to confirm the faith of those who had sufficient knowledge to understand the meaning of the arguments as first stated. Before doing this, however, it may make what follows clearer if I state, in as few words as possible, what were the principal grounds on which the original conclusions were based.

In the first place, the so-called Mosque of Omar is not a mosque at all. Everyone who has lived in Mahomedan countries knows, that practically, a mosque is a wall built at right angles to the direction of Mecca; its object being to enable the faithful to obey the precept of the Koran, which enjoins them to turn to the Kaaba at Mecca when they pray. No provision of this sort exists in the Dome of the Rock. On the contrary, the principal entrance is on the south; and the worshipper, consequently, on entering turns his back on Mecca, a piece of irreverence which does not occur, so far as I know, in any place of prayer, of the Moslems, in any part of the world.

Secondly. Whether built by Moslem or Christian, the Dome of the Rock is essentially a tomb-house. Between Rome and Delhi, there are some thousands of similar buildings; some square, others octagonal, sometimes, but rarely, circular, nearly all surmounted by domes, and having entrances generally on four sides. In Christian countries they are sometimes called baptisteries, because they originally were used for both purposes; and in the early ages of Christianity they were used also as churches, before they were superseded by the final adoption of the basilican forms. In the East, though with exceptions in the early ages of the Church, they are tombs.

Thirdly. The architecture of the Dome of the Rock belongs, undoubtedly, to an age anterior to the Hegira (A.D. 622). Without going beyond the limits of the Haram area, we have there another building called the Aksa, built by Abd-el-Malek, 66 to 73 H. (A.D. 685–692); and I feel confident that no competent person can compare the two without arriving at the conclusion that two or three centuries at least must have elapsed between their erection. The one retains a great deal of the elegance of classical art; the other is "vili fabricata opere," as Arculfus tells us, with pointed arches, and altogether in a far more modern style. Their relative position in the history of art is certain, and it is impossible they should have been built by the same person or in the same age.

Fourthly. If the Saracens built the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem, they might be expected to have built some other building in the same style in some other place. None such, however, is known; and no one has yet pointed out any, or ventured to assert that any such existed.

Lastly, turning to the building itself. No one who knows anything of the architecture of that age will hesitate to admit that the Dome of the Rock was erected subsequently to the octagonal building, now known as the Temple of Jupiter, which Diocletian erected in his palace of Spalatro as a tomb-house for

himself in or about the year 300 A.D. On the other hand, a man must be curiously ignorant of the history of the style who does not perceive that it is anterior—long anterior indeed—to the building of San Vitale at Ravenna, which was completed in A.D. 547, and which, though smaller, is more like it in plan and arrangement than any other building of the class. Architecturally, in fact, it belongs to the age of Constantine; and the question then arises, What church did Constantine or any one of about his age erect in Jerusalem, over a great rock, occupying, practically, the whole of its central space, rising 8 or 10 feet above its floor, and having a great cavern in its centre, but the Church of the Holy Sepulchre?

No answer has yet been vouchsafed to this or, indeed, to any of these questions. The late Mr. Lewin, indeed, after stoutly maintaining that it was absolutely impossible that the Dome of the Rock could have been built by Constantine, admits that "the Mosque," as he calls it, "may have been built by Constantine's successors, still in the first half of the fourth century."[1] To him, as to a writer in the 'Edinburgh Review,' as, indeed, to most Englishmen, "Its architectural character remains at most only a strange and perplexing difficulty."[2] He, however, wholly omits to notice the second, which is the important part of the proposition. Constantine's successors built many churches, no doubt; but there is only one in the whole world, so far as I know, the floor of which is occupied by such a rock as this, and on the existence of this rock hangs the whole question. The other controversionalists simply evade the question, and trust that the ignorance of their readers will be sufficient to prevent their perceiving the omission.

With regard to the Golden Gateway, the case is even stronger. Though placed in the city wall, it is not a city gate. It is not fortified, nor capable of defence. It is, in fact, a festal portal, leading to some sacred or secular building, and forming a part of some grand architectural arrangement. It is a beautiful and very richly ornamented building, in the same style as the Dome of the Rock; what little difference there is, may easily be accounted for from the greater conservatism always maintained in sacred as compared with secular or quasi-secular buildings like this one. The question here, therefore, is, Why was this festal portal placed where we find it, and by whom? No Englishman, so far as I know, has ever attempted to answer this question; they simply evade it. The Count de Vogüé, alone, has fairly faced it. He admits that it was built by Christians between the fourth and sixth centuries; and his explanation is that it was erected by some person or persons unknown, who, believing it to be the Porta Speciosa—the Beautiful Gate—of the Temple, re-erected it as such, because St. Peter and St. John had therein cured the lame man.[3]

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[1] A Sketch of Jerusalem, p. 150. [2] Edinburgh Review, October 1860. [3] Le Temple de Jérusalem, p. 64.

If anyone likes to accept such an explanation, he is welcome. To me the hypothesis seems so obviously untenable that I decline to enter upon it here, but prefer relegating my reasons for rejecting it to the Appendix, where they will be found in my examination of the Count de Vogüé's theory of the Haram area.

It would be paying the late Professor Willis a very bad compliment to say he did not know that the architecture of the gate was of the age of Constantine. He never said it was not, but as his admitting this would have been fatal to all his views regarding the Holy Sepulchre, he took refuge in a passage in Eusebius, which saved his conscience, and, he thought, justified him in asserting that my views were "ludicrously impossible."[1] It is said by that author that the gateway of the Basilica opened on a broad *agora*—ἐπ' αὐτῆς μέσης πλατείας ἀγορᾶς. It now opens externally on a cemetery, and, as may be admitted, where there is now no room for a broad *agora*.

The great American, Dr. Edward Robinson, improves on this, and proves at once the absurdity of my views by inserting two definite articles into the text of Eusebius, and, consequently, making him say that the Propylæa opened on *the* Street of *the* Bazaars.[2] He knew, of course, that he was stating what was not true when he put these words into the mouth of Eusebius, and it seems all the more strange that he should have condescended to this as he had not even the excuse of religous zeal to justify the misrepresentation. Like most of the better class of topographers who have written about Jerusalem, he had felt constrained to admit that the present sepulchre in the town could not be the true one, and that it was, consequently, a manifest imposture.

As it now turns out, the answer to these objections is twofold. In the first place, Captain Warren discovered a terrace wall at a distance of more than 50 feet in front of the Golden Gateway, which he traced some way north and south, but could not penetrate.[4] It was, from its style, as early as, if not earlier than, the wall on either side of the gateway, and, *a fortiori*, than the gateway itself, and may, consequently, have supported the market-place of which the historian speaks. But this is not, I believe, the true explanation; for, as we shall presently see, the gateway opened inwards, not outwards on the "broad agora," for which there was ample space and to spare. I am, nevertheless, quite prepared to admit that this was a difficulty, though a very small one, when weighed against the evidence on the other side. At best it was merely negative, and such as might very well wait for further examination, while the architecture gave a positive testimony patent to all who could read its language, and which could not be altered and gainsaid. However, as even this small objection has

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[1] Holy Sepulchre, 1849, p. 122.
[2] Later Biblical Researches in Palestine, 1852, p. 263.
[3] Biblical Researches in Palestine, vol. ii. p. 80.
[4] Recovery of Jerusalem, pp. 157 *et seqq*. Quarterly Reports, P. E. F. 1869, pp. 104 *et seq*.

now been removed, there is nothing, so far as I was then, or am now, aware of, to prevent us admitting at once that the Dome of the Rock and the Golden Gateway were erected in the age of Constantine, and if this is admitted, the result seems inevitable. They must be what I have always stated they were, the Anastasis and the Propylæa described by Eusebius. It only, consequently, remains to point out how far recent researches or investigations on the spot have confirmed or invalidated these conclusions.

Another strong point in these discussions, which I have always insisted upon, is the difficulty of assigning any reasonable motive for Justinian's conduct, in placing his Mary Church where he did, if it were not that he wished it to be in immediate proximity to the other Christian sites.

The spot he chose—the south-east angle of the Haram—is avowedly the most restricted and the most expensive for his purposes that could be found in or about Jerusalem. Procopius leaves us in no doubt on the subject.[1] Yet, as he states the case, Justinian braved all these difficulties without any apparent motive—or, in other words, for some motive so manifestly apparent to everybody, that it was not necessary for him to mention it. If it was, as I believe, that his church might form one of a group of Christian edifices which already existed in the Haram area, his conduct is easily intelligible and perfectly consistent. If he had any other motive, it was, as far as we can see, that of a madman. No one, however, has yet, so far as I know, ventured to suggest any reason, however eccentric, for this conduct on his part. It is one of those questions which all have agreed it is better to leave alone, trusting that silence may prevent attention being drawn towards it.

If this cause could be brought before any competent tribunal, a judge would insist on a categorical answer being given to each and all of these enquiries, and, if none were offered, would unhesitatingly order judgment to be entered against the defenders of the so-called Holy Sepulchre in the town. Unfortunately, no such tribunal exists, and no attempt has ever been made to obtain a dispassionate decision from those competent to form an opinion. On the contrary, the controversy has generally been carried on by one-sided advocates, who, under the anonymous mask, assert things they would not dare to hint at in their own names, and who, multiplying themselves indefinitely in periodical publications, keep up a clamour that imposes on the public, and stifles, for a while at least, the voice of reason, the excuse being—as just hinted at—that it is inexpedient to unsettle a tradition of eight centuries' standing; that it is better to cling to what we have than to strive after something we do not feel sure we shall ever attain.

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[1] See Appendix II.

If, consequently, I now again revert to the subject, it is not with any idea that my views will obtain a fair appreciation. I do it more for my own personal satisfaction, being absolutely convinced that, as the evidence at present stands, no other conclusions than those I have arrived at can be for one moment maintained. Of course, new evidence may be brought forward, of which I know nothing, and new discoveries may be made which may alter the whole aspect of the case. For that neither I nor any one else can be held responsible. But after carefully examining and testing every local indication, and every written testimony that is at present available, it appears to me that few things are more clearly proved than that the Dome of the Rock is the identical church Constantine erected over, what he believed to be, the Sepulchre of Christ. If this is so, all the subsidiary questions connected with the subject sink into insignificance, and are scarcely worthy of lengthened consideration; but it may nevertheless be as well to revert again to some of those which have hitherto seemed to present difficulties to the reception of the above conclusions.

48.—PLAN OF THE DOME OF THE ROCK.
(From a drawing by F. Catherwood. Scale, 100 feet to 1 inch.)

CHAPTER II.

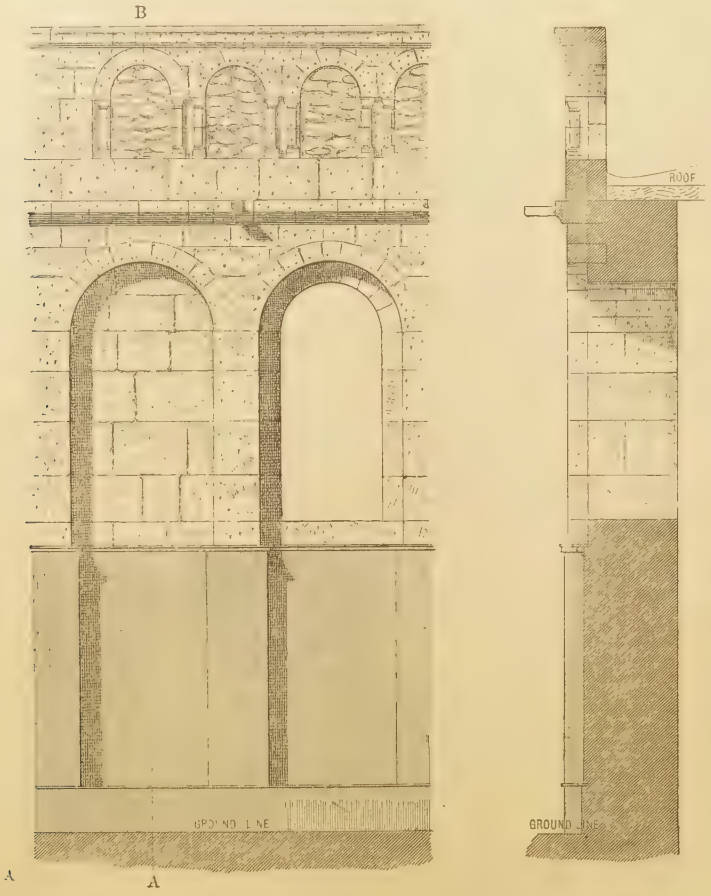
THE DOME OF THE ROCK.

ONE of the most interesting architectural discoveries made recently in the Haram area resulted from some repairs undertaken in 1873 in the Dome of the Rock. On the west face of that building, where it is exposed to the influence of the moist air from the sea, the tiles with which the whole of the upper part of the external walls are covered had become loosened, and in many parts detached, so as to show the plain wall beneath. The whole, in fact, had become so ruinous that the Turkish governor determined to strip the entire face, and replace the old with new tiles where necessary. When this was done, the whole of the original masonry was exposed to view, and was found to consist of a series of round arches—five pierced for windows and two blind panels—on the principal floor. This, however, was known before; indeed, it had been generally admitted that the pointed arches and their frames were inserted when the tiles were first applied, in the age of Suliman the Magnificent, in the sixteenth century. What was really new, however, was the discovery that the parapet wall above the principal range of windows, which had always been believed to be solid, was, in reality, composed of a range of thirteen small arches on each face, each arch being adorned with a small dwarf pillar on each side. It may be assumed, as certain, that this arcade formed the front of a covered gallery, not only because no other view seems consistent with commonsense, but because the description of it by John of Würzburg, made in the time of the Crusades, will bear no other interpretation.[1] It is not, however, now easy to determine whether its roof formed, as it does now, one uniform slope from the drum of the great dome to the outer wall of the octagon, or whether there was not a central depression something like that of the circular church of Santi Angeli at Perugia, a building very similar in plan and arrangement to the Dome of the Rock, and almost certainly belonging to the fourth century.[2] My own impression is that the roof was in two slopes, with a depression in the centre; otherwise it would be difficult to account for the position of the gargoyles or spouts to carry

[1] Tobler's edition, p. 126. I entirely agree with the translation of this somewhat obscure passage suggested by M. Ganneau, Quarterly Reports, P. E. F. 1874, p. 157. It does not seem possible to reconcile the facts with any other interpretation.

[2] Isabelle, Édifices circulaires, p. 85, pl. xxxviii. See also my History of Architecture, vol. i. p. 432, woodcuts 297, 298.

off the water, which are on the level of the gallery floor. Possibly a careful examination of the construction between the internal ceiling and the external roof might reveal how this was; but as this is of the least possible consequence for our present purpose, it is needless dwelling further upon it here.



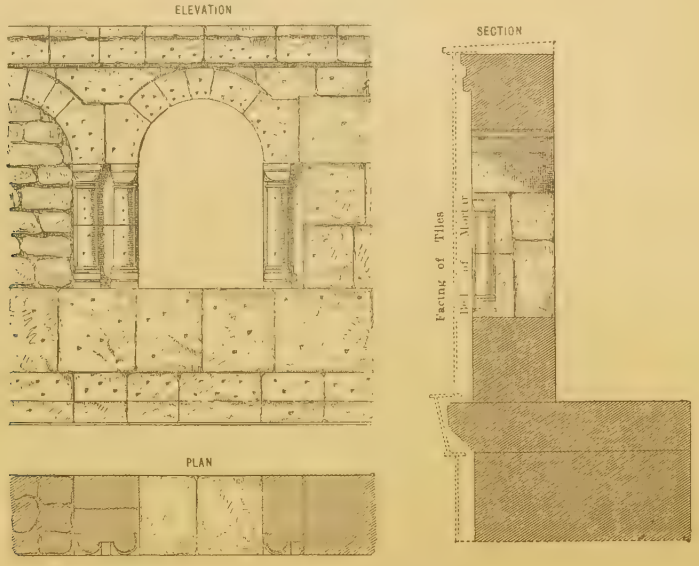
49.—ELEVATION AND SECTION OF THE FLANK OF THE DOME OF THE ROCK.
(From the Quarterly Reports of the Palestine Exploration Fund.)

With this explanation, the general appearance of the building, as it was originally constructed, will be easily understood from the annexed woodcuts, kindly placed at my disposal by the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund.[1] There was, first, the marble-cased basement, 16 feet high, pierced only

[1] Quarterly Reports, P. E. F. 1874, pp. 154, 155.

by the four doors; then a storey of plain masonry, 20 feet in height, and pierced by five round-headed windows on each face; above this, a gallery 10 feet high in front, with thirteen small arches with the dwarf pillars, which are undoubtedly coeval with, and of the same masonry as, the storey below.

The first question that arises in looking at this elevation is, Is it Saracenic? or, in other words, is there anywhere a building erected by the Moslems in this style? An absolute answer cannot, of course, be given to this question, because it may happen, that some building may be found in some part of the world which may resemble this one. But it can be answered positively that, so far as is at present known, no building at all resembling it in style is known



50.—UPPER GALLERY, DOME OF THE ROCK. (From the Quarterly Reports of the Palestine Exploration Fund.)

to exist anywhere, erected either in the first or any other century of the Hegira. The means of comparison are, it must be confessed, few, and not much to the point. Almost the only building which retains any of its ancient features, erected between 622 and 700 A.D., is the mosque of Amrou, at Cairo. Assuming this to be the case,[1] it may safely be asserted that it has absolutely nothing in common with this design. But to this it may be objected that the Egyptian example is a mosque, and that this one at Jerusalem is a tomb or tomblike building, which is true; but we have no tombs or tomblike buildings erected by

[1] The best illustrations of this mosque I know of are those by Girault de Prangey, Monuments arabes, pls. vi. and v. The drawings were made before the late rebuilding, which has obliterated all the ancient features.

Saracens in the first and second centuries of the Hegira, and no reason for supposing that they erected any; so that, as far as that argument goes, it tells against the idea of this building being Saracenic.

A more pertinent question, however, is, Does this external face of the Dome of the Rock resemble the design of the Aksa in any way? For if it was not built by the Christians, all admit that it must have been built by Abd-el-Malek, who also built the Aksa. Naturally, we should expect that, in two buildings erected in the same age by one man, and as parts of one design, there should be some points of resemblance; absolutely, there are none. Again, it may be objected that the exterior of the Aksa has been so altered and changed that its original form is hardly recognisable externally. To some extent, this is true, but not to such an extent as to vitiate the argument; but the point is not so important as it might at first sight appear, as it is the internal and not the external form that makes the difference in age, between the two buildings, so clearly apparent.

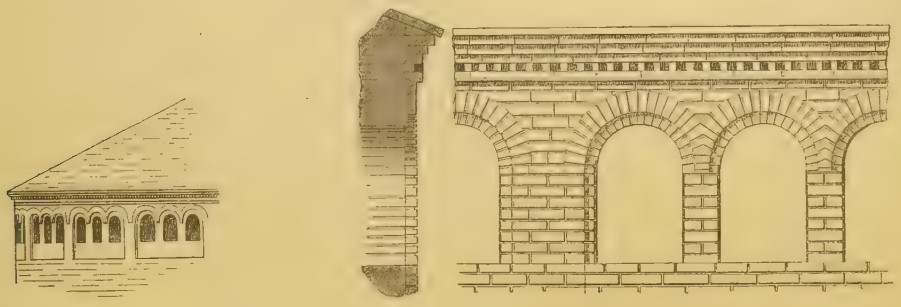
The building, we know of, that is nearest to the Aksa in date and design is the mosque at Cordova, commenced by the khalif Abd-el-Rahman, in A.D. 786, and completed by his son Hesham, who died A.D. 796. As originally erected, it was an eleven-aisled basilica, not unlike the seven-aisled Aksa, the seven central aisles in the Spanish example occupying, as nearly as possible, the same width as at Jerusalem; the two outer ones being apparently added at Cordova in order to gratify the ambition of its founder, who is said to have desired that his mosque should surpass that of Abd-el-Malek, which, in fact, it does, both in size and design; great progress in the art of architecture having been achieved by the Saracens in the century that elapsed between the erection of these two buildings. Between the Aksa and the mosque at Cordova, there are resemblances, but there is nothing in the one or in other that presents any points of contact with the Dome of the Rock. To my mind, centuries must have elapsed between the erection of these two buildings. If others see resemblances between them, all that can at present be said is that they have not yet been brought forward, or pointed out by any one.

Is the architecture of the exterior of the Dome of the Rock Christian? The absence of any distinctly recognisable architectural mouldings renders the answer to this question less absolute than it might be, but it is easy to reply that all its features are found in the Christian architecture of the fourth century, and that there is nothing whatever in it at all antagonistic to the idea that it belongs to the Christians and to that age.

In the first place, the art of veneering the surface of their walls with marble slabs was extensively practised by the Romans in their *thermæ* and other secular buildings; and this mode of decoration continued to be employed

by the Byzantines down to the building of Santa Sophia, the interior of which is, to a considerabe extent, so adorned. The patterns here employed are also such as are generally found in classical or Byzantine work, and, so far as I know, such as were never employed in Saracenic work. Indeed, though they used coloured tiles extensively, I cannot call to mind a single instance of the Moslems using a marble veneer to their edifices anterior to the Crusades.

The forms and masonry of the middle storey are just such as we would expect to find in a building of the fourth century. The surface of the stonework has been, however, considerably defaced by the Moslems, who purposely roughed it, to get a tooth for the plaster which was to support their tiles; but the joints and the whole constructive arrangements are in accordance with the practice of the Romans at that age, though there is, perhaps, nothing sufficiently distinctive in this to prove the case. The argument must consequently principally rest on the arcade and its little columns. Are they Christian? The answer seems distinct and final.



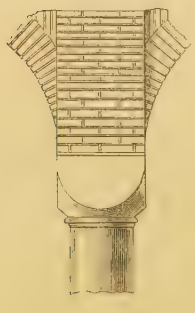
51.—Gallery of Sant' Ambrogio. (From Hübsch.)

Any one who is at all familiar with the subject will at once call to mind hundreds—I might almost say thousands—of such galleries adorning the apses of churches between Pavia and Cologne, or rather between the Po and the Northern Sea. Indeed, there is hardly a church of any importance in the North of Italy or of Germany that is not so adorned from the earliest time at which Christian churches were built down, at least, to the thirteenth century. The only question is, when were they first introduced? It is, and always must be, extremely difficult to find any examples before, or even as early as, the time of Constantine, as he was practically the first Christian church builder; but there are two churches in Milan, both built by St. Ambrosius in the fourth century, in which we find the system fully developed. The first is the church now bearing his name, the apse of which is undoubtedly a part, almost the only part, of the original construction, and it has a gallery under its roof. It is in brick-work, and on a smaller scale; but, as will be seen from the above woodcut,

in other respects almost identical with this one. Inside this apse is a mosaic that cannot be more modern than the age of the second Angilbertus (835 A.D.), and most probably belongs to the age of the first archbishop of that name (530 A.D.). In it there is a representation of the building as it then was, and in it this gallery is clearly and easily recognisable.[1]

There is, also in Milan, another church, San Nazaro, built in 382 A.D., which is even more to the point than Sant' Ambrogio, or rather would be, were it not that it has been so knocked about and altered that it is not easy now to make out what is new and what old. It has, however, absidal galleries externally, and internally columns with capitals identical with those of the little dwarf columns of this gallery.[2]

There is a third church at Milan, San Lorenzo, with its side chapel, S. Aquilino, which belongs also to the fourth century, and has galleries of this sort, parts of which belong to the original foundation, though in others they are only renewals of what has been destroyed.[3] Other examples are quoted by Hübsch, and are to be found elsewhere, till we come down to the times of the Longobardi, and find such churches as that of Santa Julia at Brescia, said to have been built by Theodolinda about the year 600.[4] There, however, the gallery is supported by regular shafts, with capitals and all the refinements used in Rhenish and Pavian churches in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This invention, in fact, which was first thought of, probably, about the year 300, and perfected three centuries afterwards, continued to be used by Christians for six or seven centuries longer, but, so far as I know, never in Saracenic art.



52.—CAPITAL FROM CISTERN OF PHILOXENUS AT CONSTANTINOPLE.
(From Hübsch.)

Next to the capitals and pillars found in the church of San Nazaro, just alluded to, the most perfect specimens of the class of small pillars, belonging to this gallery, are to be found in the cistern of Philoxenus, now the Bin Bir Derek at Constantinople, which is generally assumed to have been the work of Constantine or of his age, and on data which I do not think can be doubted.[5] It certainly, at all events, is one of the oldest and most important cisterns in the city, and occupies one of the most important sites. Most of the pillars in this cistern have capitals similar to that represented in the annexed woodcut, and they are so nearly identical

[1] Ferrario, St. Ambrogio, Milano, 1824. Pl. 24.

[2] These statements are made on the authority of Hübsch, Altchristliche Bauwerke, pl. xli. pp. 97, 98. I see no reason for doubting their perfect correctness.

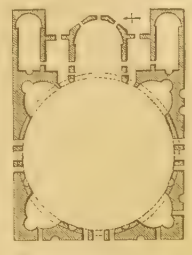
[3] Hübsch, Altchristliche Bauwerke, pl. xiv. pp. 21 *et seqq.*

[4] Hübsch, Altchristliche Bauwerke, pl. xl. p. 97.

[5] Salzenberg, Altchristliche Bauwerke Constantinople's, p. 38, pl. xxxviii. See also Du Cange, Constantinopolis Christiana, lib. i. p. 96 and lib. ii. p. 132; and Gylius, lib. ii. chap. xxv.

with those attached to the gallery of the Dome of the Rock[1] that they cannot differ much, if at all, from each other in age.[2]

Among the various churches illustrated by the Count de Vogüé, in his beautiful work on 'Syrie Centrale,' the cathedral at Bosrah was apparently the only one that was so arranged as to admit of its possessing a gallery of this sort. The apses of the others were apparently too small for its introduction, but in this instance not only the scale but the arrangements of the building were such as to demand something of the kind. The plan here given is taken from M. Rey,[3] and is practically identical with that by M. de Vogüé, except that all the internal arrangements are omitted. The section on the following page is copied from one by the Count, and conveys a very perfect and complete idea of its internal arrangements. Its principal interest to us here is what any one will perceive at a glance, that it is a literal copy, on a slightly smaller scale—120 against 150 feet—of the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem (Plate VI.); with only such alterations as were indispensable to adapt a tomblike building to one suited for congregational purposes. The first change was to convert the octagonal ground plan into a square, but that was what was being done by the Byzantine architects everywhere during the interval that elapsed between the erection of these two buildings.[4] The next change was to get rid of the central circle surrounding the Rock at Jerusalem, but no longer wanted here, and then to bring forward the eight piers of the outer octagon, each with their two pillars between them. Instead, however, of a tie-beam with an arch to each pillar, a greater familiarity with the style enabled the architects to throw one bold arch over the whole, and to convert what was only an ornament at Jerusalem into a useful gallery at Bosrah.[5] This was also an improvement on the corresponding gallery at Jerusalem—which is the one just discovered—as it makes the gallery an integral part of the church, instead of a mere external ornament.



53.—PLAN OF CATHEDRAL AT BOSRAH.
(From M. Rey.)
(Scale, 100 feet to 1 inch.)

[1] The pillars of the Porta Nigra at Treves, which is almost undoubtedly a building of Constantine's age, were all apparently intended to have capitals of this class. None of them, however, have been finished, and it is consequently impossible to base any arguments on their forms. It is only an architect who can see what was intended by the blocks that remain, while a layman would be perfectly justified in contending that it might be something else that was originally proposed.

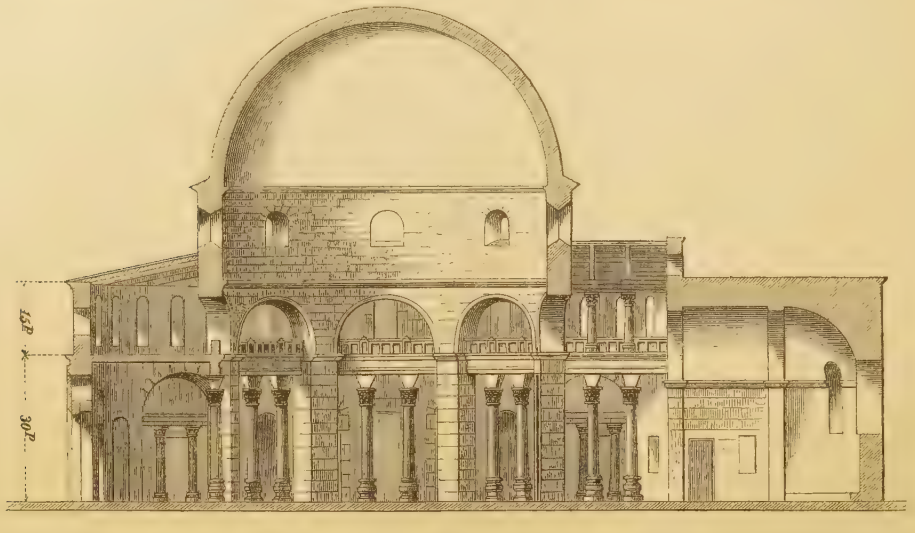
[2] On the 31st plate of his great work on Old Christian Churches, Hübsch engraved a plan of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, which he believed to be the one in the city; and in the same plate, figs. 6 and 7, he engraved a plan and elevation of one of those pillars from the Bin Bir Derek, as authentic examples of the work of Constantine to be used in the restoration. Had he known that similar capitals were hidden beneath the tiles of buildings within a few hundred yards of that site, it probably would have altered materially his views on the subject.

[3] History of Architecture, vol. ii. p. 439.

[4] History of Architecture, vol. ii. p. 440.

[5] If Count de Vogüé had been an architect, he would have known that the stone dome he places over the centre of the church would not have stood for an hour. The roof must have been wood, probably conical.

From inscriptions on the walls, it was ascertained that this church was completed in 512 A.D. When it was commenced, we are not told, probably ten or twenty years earlier; but be this as it may, it would be difficult to find anywhere a more complete and interesting example of architectural development than is exhibited by the changes introduced at Bosrah on the designs of a church erected 170 or 180 years earlier at Jerusalem. So evident, indeed, is this that, if De Vogüé's section is to be depended upon—and I see no reason for doubting its general correctness—it ought nearly to suffice for settling this question. It is quite impossible that the section of the Dome of the Rock as shown on Plate VI. could be copied from that of the cathedral at Bosrah, but the



54.—SECTION OF DOME AT BOSRAH. (Facsimile of one in Count de Vogüé's Syrie Centrale, p. 64.)
(For comparison with section of Dome of the Rock, Plate VI.)

converse appears clear and certain. The two buildings are in the same style, and so like one another, and their connexion is so intimate, that their relative ages are as nearly certain as anything of the sort can well be.

The removal of the tiles from the upper part of the external walls of the Dome of the Rock, besides revealing the existence of the arcades, disclosed also another fact, which, when published and properly investigated, may have an important bearing on the history of the edifice. In a letter to the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, dated May 31, 1874, M. Ganneau announced that he had discovered that some, at least, of the arcades of the upper storey had at one time been formed into semicircular niches, with semi-domical heads, and that the upper parts, at least, had been adorned with mosaics.

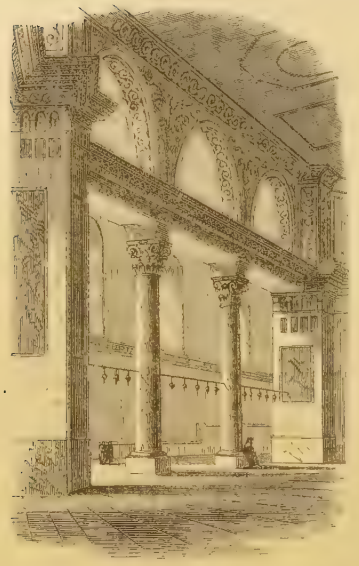
Whether the perpendicular parts were also so ornamented, we are not told. In one niche, the marks only of the tesseræ were found, but in the adjacent one the remains were sufficiently perfect to enable M. Lecomte to make a complete coloured drawing of its details, the correctness of which I see no reason for doubting. If the drawing had been submitted to me without any intimation of where it came from, I should have unhesitatingly pronounced it late Roman or Byzantine, though I fully admit the difficulty of feeling certain on such a point. Mosaics do not show any signs of age in themselves, and the same patterns, or others nearly similar, are repeated over and over again, so that without emblems or figures it is difficult to base any reasoning on the abstract question. M. Ganneau thinks they belong to the age of Saladin,[1] merely, it seems, because he did not know to whom else to ascribe them. To me, however, it appears extremely unlikely that, if Saladin or any Mahomedan prince had wanted merely to block up these arches to display a mosaic decoration, he should have taken the trouble to form them into niches with semi-domical heads; few things are more difficult than to adapt a geometric pattern to such a form; it must always look contorted, and, when done, it would always be in shade, and at that height almost invisible. What he almost inevitably would have done would have been to close the niche with a flat slab on which to display his mosaic, which, in Saladin's time, would, probably, have been a floral design, far more easily executed than that now found there, and, as an architectural decoration, infinitely more effective. Whoever formed these niches, it seems to me almost certain that they intended to place statues in them, or some free-standing ornament; and from the position of the gargoyles or spouts, it seems most probable that they were coeval with the erection of the building, and that the drainage of the building was carried below them, so that the drip might not damage the mosaics, as it inevitably would have done if carried above them.

If they were all niches, and their perpendicular backs carried down to the bottom of the arcades, there would, of course, be an end of the gallery theory, and we must look for some other explanation; but in so far as I can understand M. Lecomte's drawings, this is not so. Some may have been so, but in others it was only the circular part that was filled in, the square below being left open, and others were apparently without even the semi-dome. In fact, till we have more knowledge than we now possess, it is impossible to put forward, or to criticise any theory with any degree of confidence. All I can at present say is, that I know nothing of any building ornamented with mosaics externally by any Moslem architect in any age or any part of the world, and that, on the other hand, I see nothing to render it improbable that these mosaics may not be part of the original design of the building, assuming it to have been erected in the fourth century.

[1] Quarterly Reports of the Palestine Exploration Fund for 1874, p. 263.

Interior.

Although the evidence derived from a comparison of the exterior of the Dome of the Rock, when compared with that of the Aksa, is tolerably conclusive as to their relative ages, and of the time that must have elapsed between their erection, that derived from their interiors is ten times more so. In the Dome of the Rock all the constructive arches are circular; in the mosque they are all pointed. All the capitals in the first-named building



55.—VIEW IN AISLE OF THE DOME OF THE ROCK.
(From a drawing by Arundale.)

56.—VIEW IN THE INTERIOR OF THE AKSA.
(From a drawing by Arundale.)

are of the Corinthian order, with concave curves to their bell-shaped capitals, and so classical in detail that none such could have been used except borrowed from older buildings after Justinian's time. In the Aksa there is not a single pillar—unless one or two borrowed ones—which was invented before Justinian's age; generally they have convex basket capitals, and those with foliage are of a debased character, wholly unlike those of the Dome. But the greatest contrast is exhibited in their design. Everything in the Dome is elegant and well-proportioned, and everything suitable to the place where it is found. I do

not indeed know of any tomb or tomblike building in the whole world so beautiful, or so entirely satisfactory, as the Dome of the Rock—at least none erected before the great Indian mausolea of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The Aksa, on the other hand, is badly designed, worse proportioned, and its details detestable. It betrays in every feature the efforts of a rude unskilful people, attempting to imitate the work of a superior race, which they were incapable either of understanding or appreciating. So evident indeed is this that, if there is any foundation for the theory of architectural development, it seems quite certain that these two buildings were erected not only by different races, but at long distant periods of time.

There is of course considerable difficulty in making this difference quite clear either to those who have not been on the spot, and had an opportunity of comparing the two buildings, or to those whose eyes are not sufficiently educated in the styles to detect the characteristics that are so obvious to those who are familiar with the subject. Yet it seems impossible that anyone can look at the two last woodcuts and not perceive the differences between them. This, however, is still more apparent from a comparison of the plates in my work on the 'Topography of Jerusalem,' from the illustrations of which these cuts are reduced, or, better still, from the plates in De Vogüé's great work on the Temple, especially plates xix. and xxxi., without perceiving how very unlike the one is to the other. Photographs also are available,[1] and any one who will take the pains to go through this evidence must, I fancy, arrive at the conclusion that a long interval of time separates these two buildings, and that the Dome of the Rock is the oldest and by far the most classical in style of the two.

Before the period of the recent repairs, no one probably expected much from any examination of the construction of the exterior of the Dome of the Rock, but I, and probably others, had hopes that, when an opportunity was afforded of examining the complicated structure of the interior, something might be disclosed that would reveal the history of its erection. I, for one, felt certain that, if we were only allowed to remove the plain marble slabs that now surmount the capitals of the intermediate range of columns, we should find beneath them, the original blocks that were hidden by this *placage*, and if we did, we should find engraved on them either a cross or some Christian emblem, that would tell us what we wanted to know; but in order to explain the reason for this belief, it is necessary to go back a little.

When, in the time of Diocletian, architects first began to tamper with the stereotyped forms of the Roman Corinthian order, they left the cornice

[1] Two taken by Lieutenant Kitchener, representing these two interiors, were published by the Palestine Exploration Fund, and in themselves ought to be sufficient to settle the question.

and frieze for a long time pretty much as they found them. They pulvinated the frieze—or, in other words, curved it outwards—and carved it richly, to supply the place of the figures which were its original and proper ornament; and they omitted some details of the cornice, but the great alteration was made in the architrave. When using arches, as in the court at Spalatro,[1] they bent the architrave as an archivolt, round the arches, leaving the frieze and cornice as before; but when using a trabeate or horizontal construction, they omitted the architrave altogether, except one block of it

57.—COURT IN DIOCLETIAN'S PALACE AT SPALATRO. (From a sketch by Sir Gardner Wilkinson.)

over the capital, and afterwards, even in arched construction, used this block in order to give apparent strength to the capital to support the arches, and continued this practice down nearly to the time of Justinian. In his age, however, the invention of convex capitals enabled the architects to dispense with this; their fulness being sufficient to give the requisite appearance of strength. In the intermediate period, however, the architects

[1] Adams, Palace of Diocletian, plates xviii., xx. *et passim.*

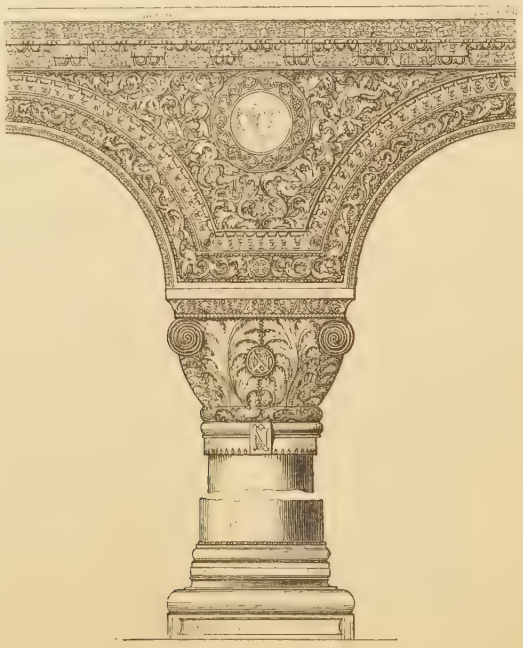
almost invariably engraved either a cross or a Christian emblem of this *dé*, or cubical block, as in the subjoined example from Thessalonica, dating about the year 500 A.D., and this practice became almost universal in the churches at Ravenna and elsewhere. When the Byzantine style was completed under Justinian, the *dé* was omitted, and the cross or monogram was transferred to the capital, which had then become convex, instead of concave, and, in fact, belonged to a totally different style of architecture from that which is found in the buildings of Constantine at Jerusalem. This may be seen from the two illustrations on the next page, taken from the Church of Santa Sophia at Constantinople, which only retains a very slight reminiscence of the Corinthian capital, and from which all traces of the classical entablature have been almost entirely banished.

58.—Arcade from Church of St. Demetrius at Thessalonica, A.D. 500–520.

It is easy for any one to see at a glance how far the style employed in the Santa Sophia had deviated from that found in the Dome of the Rock before these capitals were executed; but it was after their time that the Aksa was built, and, according to the usually accepted theory, the Dome of the Rock also. As the Dome of the Rock was one of the examples in which this transitional style of architecture was first introduced, we might hope that there also this mode of engraving crosses or emblems on the blocks surmounting the capitals would be found, though it might perhaps be only feebly attempted. As will be presently explained, this hope has been disappointed. The *dé* is a rough block of stone, unhewn and without any ornament at all. The fact, however, evidently is, that it was ornamented by bronze plates on its four faces, and these have been removed with the ornaments upon them, whatever they may have been, and replaced by the marble slabs we now find there.

The proof that the ornamentation of this part was in bronze will be found in the fact that the sofit of the intermediate entablature, and part of

59.—Capital, Santa Sophia, Constantinople.

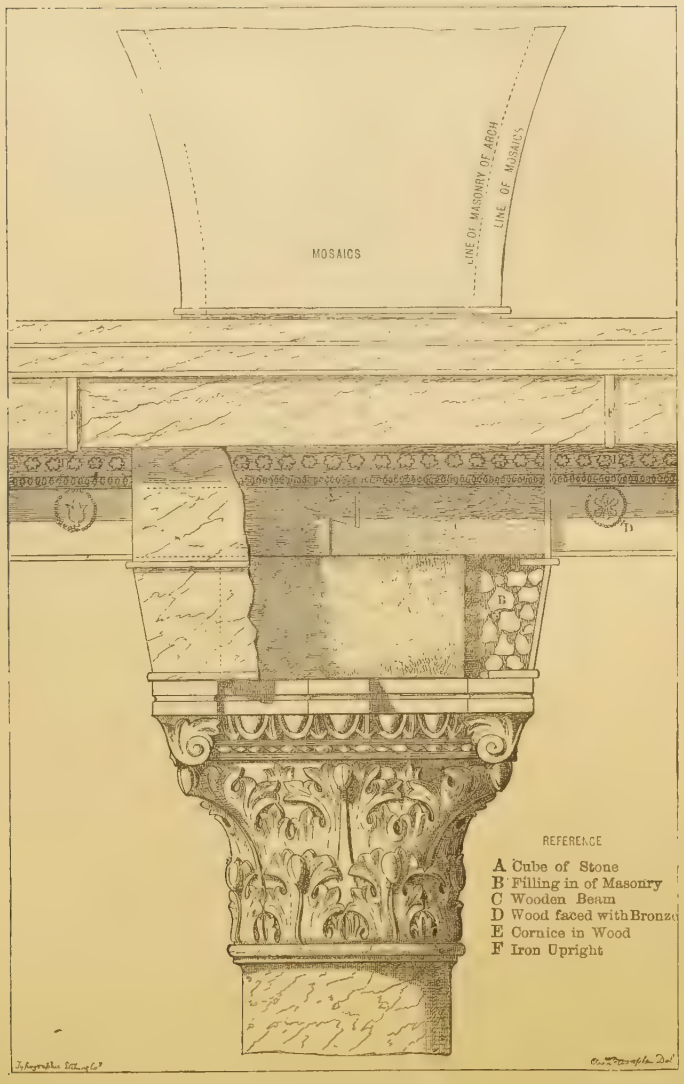


60.—Capital, Santa Sophia at Constantinople. (From Salzenberg.)

the sides is still in bronze repoussé work of a very elaborate and beautiful class. One of the parts is shown in the annexed woodcut. This has so

61.—Bronze Plaque from Underside of Beam, Dome of the Rock. (From De Vogüé, plate xxii.)

antique an appearance that, if such a thing were possible, I would be half inclined to fancy it might have been borrowed from Herod's Temple, or,



62.—CAPITAL AND ENTABLATURE OF INTERMEDIATE RANGE OF PILLARS, DOME OF THE ROCK.
(From a drawing by M. Lecomte, Quarterly Reports, P. E. F. 1874, p. 139.)

at all events, from some building anterior to A.D. 70.[1] That, however, it cannot be, and the vine, in fact, is here used, as it is in frescos in the Catacombs, or in mosaics of the contemporary tomb of Santa Costanza at

[1] Its ornamentation, in fact, resembles more closely that of the lid of Herod's sarcophagus (woodcut No. 36) than any other piece of sculpture I am acquainted with.

Rome. If it ever was used by any Moslem architect, in any part of the world, this has escaped my attention. If it does exist, perhaps some one will say where.

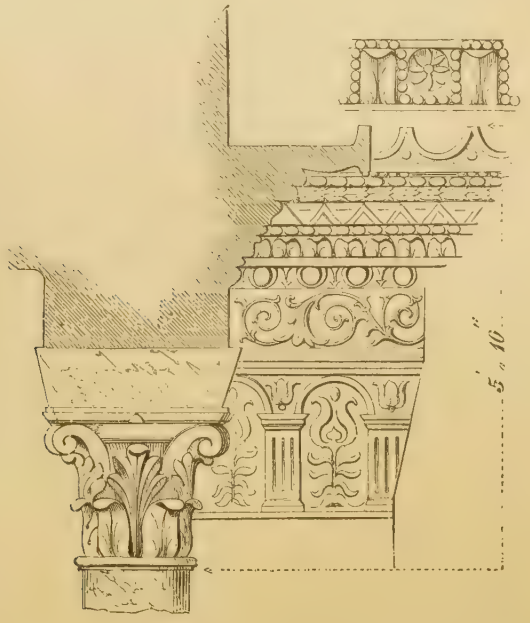
The arrangement of this entablature will be best understood from the woodcut on the preceding page, made from a drawing by M. Lecomte during the late repairs. The capital is undoubtedly of the age of Constantine. It is one of the very first attempts to convert the hollow bowl of the Corinthian capital into a fuller form, to bear an arch or a longer entablature. It is, however, a very long time anterior to the full development of this idea shown in the two woodcuts Nos. 59 and 60. Above this is shown, as just mentioned, the rude *dé*, a square block, now cased with plain marble slabs, but which, originally, must have been cased with bronze plates, like the underside of the wooden beam which it supports. The wooden cornice appears above this, ornamented with small rosettes, apparently original. Above this, the marble casing again appears fastened to the woodwork underneath by iron clamps. No part of this seems to have been removed during the repairs; so we do not know what these slabs cover in the parts represented in the above illustration (woodcut No. 62), but in other parts it is by the very beautiful frieze and cornice represented by De Vogüé, in his plate xx., and shown, though less perfectly, in the woodcut on the opposite page (No. 63).[1] It is not quite classical, but it is just as far removed from the pure types of Roman architecture as the capital shown in the last woodcut (No. 62), and, if there is any basis for the theory of architectural development, the entablature is as certainly of the time of Constantine. To assert that this capital or this cornice is the work of Abd-el-Malek, at the end of the seventh century—a century and a half after Justinian—is to cast on one side all we know of the history of the style, and to deny the first principles of the science of architectural development.

The fact is that every form and every detail of this entablature accords minutely with the assumption that it belongs to the fourth century, while it does not accord with anything found in any Mahomedan building of any age or country. It is true, it has been said, that the Saracens used beams of wood to connect their arches in the mosque of Amrou at Cairo, and elsewhere. These, however, are in all instances simple square balks of timber with 6 or 12 inches section used as tie-beams, to resist the thrust of their badly constructed arches, in the same manner as iron tie-rods were used in Italy and in Asia for the same purpose down to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. No such highly ornamented beams as those of the Dome of the Rock exist anywhere that I know of. The thing most like it, probably, is the tie-beam

[1] So far as I can make out, the woodcut No. 61 represents the outer face of the entablature. It is only on the inner face that the classical frieze and cornice exists.

on each side of the nave of the Aksa, but it is so evidently a barbarous attempt to copy that in the Kubbet es Sakhra that its evidence is one of the best proofs how little Abd-el-Malek's architects knew what they were doing, and how completely, having no style of their own, they were trying their 'prentice hands on a style they did not understand.

The capital of the pillars shown in the woodcut below (No. 63) is, as just mentioned, another proof, if any were wanted, to show that this whole system of decoration belongs to the age of Constantine. In the fourth century the Christian architects were trying to apply to their interiors that magnificence



63.—Capital and Cornice of the Intermediate Range of Columns in the Dome of the Rock.
(From a drawing by Arundale.)

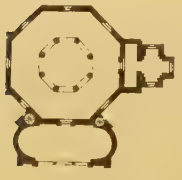
which their pagan predecessors had lavished on their exteriors, and in consequence found it necessary to introduce much wider spacing than formerly. Whether this was done by arches, as was attempted at Spalatro (woodcut No. 57), and became universal afterwards, or by a light horizontal entablature, as here attempted, a much greater weight than formerly was thrown on the capital, and it hence became indispensable to strengthen it, in appearance at least. The capitals in the Dome of the Rock are early and fine specimens of their class, and could not have been carved before 300 A.D. nor after 500. Their internal evidence is alone sufficient to prove this; but, fortunately,

there are other examples, elsewhere, confirming this assumption with more or less exactitude. The annexed example, for instance, from the Church of St. John Studios at Constantinople, erected A.D. 463, is extremely similar to that represented in woodcut No. 62, except that, as a metropolitan example, it is a little more refined, and retains some classical features longer than in that found at Jerusalem.

64.—CAPITAL FROM CHURCH OF ST. JOHN STUDIOS AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

As no Christian churches were destroyed at Jerusalem between the capitulation to Omar and the time of Abd-el-Malek, the capitals in the Dome of the Rock could not have been borrowed from elsewhere, but must be and are integral parts of the decoration of the edifice in which they are found; and the idea, that they can be the work of the Moslems in the last decade of the seventh century, seems so preposterous that the wonder is that any one can be found to maintain it. If it is so, we had better burn our books, and give up at once all idea of ascertaining the age of buildings, either Gothic or classical, from their style.

During the recent repairs, some of the bases of these columns were uncovered by the removal of the slabs in which, at some subsequent period, they had been encased. They were carefully drawn by M. Lecomte, but have not yet been published. From what I have seen of them, they appear singularly classical; but he seems to have been astonished that they were not all identical and of exactly the same height. To me it appears that the wonder is the other way; I know of no building of that age where such uniformity occurs, especially if erected by Christians. Everywhere pagan temples were being desecrated and destroyed; and with the enormous wealth of materials placed at their disposal, it seems absurd to suppose that the Christians would quarry and carve new shafts for every separate occasion. Even in Rome, where the supply was superabundant, in every church and every building of the fourth century columns and capitals and bases of the most discrepant dimensions are found everywhere.



65.—BAPTISTERY OF CONSTANTINE.
(From Isabelle.)
(Scale, 100 feet to 1 inch.)

One of the most notable examples of this is found in the Lateran Baptistery, which was certainly erected by Constantine, though it is said to have been only finished by St. Sixtus, a century after his time, 431–440 A.D. The truth appears to be that Sixtus restored it after it was plundered, perhaps damaged, by Alaric. Be this as it may, it is in all essential parts an exact miniature counterpart of the Dome of the Rock, except that, as even Rome could not furnish eight porphyry shafts of the same length, the taller ones are furnished with Ionic, the shorter ones with Corinthian capitals.

66.—SECTION OF LATERAN BAPTISTERY. (From Fleury.)

These pillars are connected together by beams identical in principle with those we have just been describing as belonging to the Dome of the Rock, with this only difference, that they are, at Rome, in stone, instead of being in wood, because they had to support a vault in brickwork, instead of a flat ceiling in wood, as at Jerusalem; but barring this essential difference in construction, the two designs are identical, and they are undoubtedly of the same age.[1]

[1] These particulars regarding the Lateran Baptistery are taken from a work by G. R. de Fleury, published in Paris, this year, by Morel. It is one of the most conscientious as well as one of the most interesting monographs of a mediæval church that have appeared of late years. The author has no theories and no bias, and supports his statements and drawings with a sufficient number of "pièces justificatives" to render them thoroughly trustworthy. It need hardly be added that he never dreamt of the Dome of the Rock being a Christian church.

CHAPTER III.

THE DOME OF THE ROCK.

Mosaics.

IF, as mentioned above, the mosaics now existing on the exterior of the Dome of the Rock are of too fragmentary a character to give any clear indication of their age, those of the interior are so complete that they ought to afford satisfactory materials for the chronological elucidation of its history. To enable this, however, to be done, the person examining them ought to have special technical knowledge of the subject, with access to them, so as to be able to examine them almost by touch as well as by the eye. Messrs. Catherwood and Arundale, who were the first who were able to approach them in modern times, had not, perhaps, sufficient knowledge to decide the question; but being of opinion that the building was erected by Omar, they expressed to me their astonishment at their classical character. It is not known whether Messrs. Ganneau and Lecomte have the technical education requisite for this purpose; they have not, so far as I know, expressed any opinion on the subject. We are therefore dependent on the Count de Vogüé for the materials to reason upon, in so far, at least, as the public is concerned. In his splendid work on 'Le Temple de Jérusalem,' he devotes three coloured plates to these mosaics—one of these a double one. The mosaics on plate xxi. he ascribes to the seventh century; those on plate xxii. to the eleventh century; and those on plate xxiii. to 1027 A.D. In these determinations, however, the Count has been avowedly guided by the Arabic inscriptions found upon them; and as he believes these inscriptions to be coeval with, and indeed a part of, the design, this was a perfectly legitimate conclusion to arrive at—the only one, indeed, possible from his point of view. Had the inscriptions, however, not been there, I am convinced that he, or any other expert, would have arrived at conclusions diametrically opposed to those. The mosaic scroll rising from a group of acanthus leaves (plates xx. and xxii.) appears to me as classical as anything at Ravenna or at Santa Sophia at Constantinople, and, taken by itself, might well be earlier. On the other hand, the mosaics on plate xxiii. are of quite a different character, and certainly of much more modern date. But the *instantia crucis* is plate xxi., where the decoration, notwithstanding the square Kufic inscription, has not a trace of classicality about it, and appears to be mediæval Saracenic of any age, but certainly after the tenth or eleventh century.

Count de Vogüé seems himself to be aware of the discrepancy between the artistic and the epigraphic history of these mosaics, inasmuch as he says (page 88):—"Les enroulements du maître pilier de la coupole, et ceux du tambour, rappellent certaines décorations romaines du IVe siècle et particulièrement l'ornementation sculptée au tombeau de sainte Constance." "Les mosaïques des bas côtés, au contraire, quoique beaucoup plus rapprochées, par leur dates, des temps antiques, sont d'un style plus originel—une fantaisie plus libre, une bizarrerie plus capricieuse," &c. "Ces qualités se retrouvent dans les mosaïques du XIe siècle," (those of the tambour, plate xxiii.) "mais à un moindre degré; en revanche, elles sont d'un meilleur goût et d'un dessin plus soigné." After this he may well exclaim, "D'où vient cette apparente contradiction, et comment l'expliquer?" "Nous ne connaissons pas encore assez complétement l'histoire de l'art byzantin, pour pouvoir répondre d'une manière péremptoire."

If, however, he had thought of turning to his own work on the 'Churches of the Holy Land,' he would have found at least an approximate answer. In plates iii. and iv. of that work, he portrays with his usual fidelity the mosaics of the church at Bethlehem. It is, of course, not quite easy to feel certain of the identity of form in comparing the coloured plates of 'Le Temple de Jérusalem' with the monochromes of 'Les Églises de la Terre Sainte,' but it seems to me impossible for any one to compare the one with the other without perceiving that they belong to the same age. The date of the Bethlehem mosaics is perfectly well known; they were executed by order of Manuel Comnenus Porphyrogenitus, between the years 1145 and 1180 A.D.,[1] and if we assume that those of the Dome of the Rock were executed by order of Saladin, after his recovery of Jerusalem, A.D. 1187, he may have employed the identical artists, and may have instructed them to execute similar designs, leaving out those symbols only that would be offensive to his co-religionists.

This, it is true, may not be sufficient to establish their date beyond cavil, but it is certainly enough to make out a *prima facie* case for placing the date of these mosaics towards the end of the twelfth century. It is so conclusive to my mind that, if it were only the artistic question that was involved, I would not care to pursue the enquiry further; but mixed up with these mosaics, and apparently an integral part of them, is a great inscription, which both the Count de Vogüé[2] and Mr. Palmer[3] consider as a perfectly authentic document of the seventh century, recording the erection of the Dome of the Rock, by Abd-el-Malek, in the year 72 H. (A.D. 691). They consequently consider it as an absolute proof of the correctness of their views regarding the date of the building, and as quite fatal to any attempt to prove that it was built

[1] Les Églises de la Terre Sainte, p. 99. [2] Le Temple de Jérusalem, pp. 84 *et seqq*.
[3] Quarterly Reports, P. E. F. for 1870, p. 164.

by Constantine or any one else. I, on the contrary, believe it to be a manifest forgery: in the first place, because I have the most unbounded faith in the architectural argument when it speaks so clearly as it does in the present instance. I trust to it beyond all others, because I do not know one single instance, in any part of the world or in any age anterior to the Reformation in Europe, where it speaks falsely, and where its testimony may not be implicitly relied upon. On the other hand, nothing is so easily forged as an inscription, especially in mosaic, and nothing more likely than that a forgery should be attempted in a place like Jerusalem, where sectarian jealousies ran so high, and in a building which has so often changed hands as the Dome of the Rock. Unless, therefore, it can be proved on perfectly irrefragable evidence that these mosaic inscriptions are what they profess to be, I for one would have no hesitation in rejecting their evidence, even if I could not prove them to be forgeries, which from the very nature of the case it may be difficult to do in a perfectly complete or satisfactory manner.

So far as I can make out the history of these inscriptions, it is as follows. We learn from William of Tyre that, when the Crusaders reached Jerusalem, they found the Mosque of Omar covered with inscriptions in the ancient Kufic characters, one of which stated that the building had been erected by Omar, the son of Katab, the third khalif, and giving an account of expenses and motives of the erection.[1] That inscription, however, seems to have disappeared during the Christian occupation, inasmuch as we have a most minute and detailed account of the building by John of Würzburg, and by Theodoricus, both writing about the year 1180; and while they make no mention of this or any other Arabic inscriptions about the building, they copied and report a number of Latin inscriptions in mosaic which adorned the building both inside and outside. Outside, for instance, Theodoricus, after describing the lower storey with its noble marble incrustation, mentions a mosaic band under the roof, which ran all round the building,[2] on the first face of which was inscribed, "Pax æterna ab æterno Patre sit huic domui"; on the second, "Templum Domini sanctum est"; on the third, 'Hæc est domus Domini firmiter ædificata"; and so on throughout the whole eight faces, in each of which, except the first, the building is distinctly called the Temple of "our Lord," meaning Christ, so as to distinguish it carefully from the Templum Salomonis close at hand.

"Extant porro in eodem Templi ædificio, intus et extra ex opere Musaico, Arabici idiomatis literarum vetustissima monumenta, quod illius temporis esse creduntur. Quibus et auctor et impensarum quantitas et quo tempore opus inceptum quoque consummatum fuerat evidenter declaratur." i. ch. iii. p. 630.

"Porro in principio hujus voluminis ædificii hujus auctorem diximus Homar filium Catab qui tertius a seductore Maometis errores et regni successor extitit." viii. ch. iii. p. 748. Gesta Dei p. Francos.

[2] "Inferius usque ad medium spatium nobilissime marmore ornatum, et a medio usque ad superiorem cui tectum incumbit, limbum musivo opere decentissime decoratum. Ipse vero limbus circulariter per totum templi ambitum circumductus hanc continet scripturam." In Tobler's edition, p. 38.

In the interior, where apparently the great Arabic inscription now is, we have, "Domus mea domus orationis vocabitur, dicit Dominus," &c., as recorded by Theodoricus, who mentions a third inscription in giving the date of these mosaics as seventy-four years from the capture of Antioch and seventy-three from that of Jerusalem, consequently 1172. Practically the same account of the Latin inscriptions is given by John of Würzburg,[1] with some variations, it is true, but just sufficient to show that both were copying on the spot, and not repeating what the other had said.

As might be expected, all these Latin inscriptions have disappeared, not only from the outside, but from the inside of the building, though, from their extent, they must have occupied a considerable portion of the surface now appropriated to mosaic decoration. So too has the inscription seen by William of Tyre, for in those that exist there is no mention of Omar-ibn-Katab, nor any account of the expenses and purposes of the building. In its stead we have a long inscription, which was partially translated by De Vogüé,[2] and more fully by Mr. Palmer,[3] whose translation, as the most complete, is printed *in extenso* in the Appendix. As understood by these gentlemen, it records the erection of the building by Abd-el-Malek, the builder of the Aksa. As it now stands, however, this honour is ascribed to Abd-Allah-al-Mamûn, the successor of Harûn-al-Rashid, and who lived 198–218 H. This, however, is stated to be a forgery, though, as Mr. Palmer remarks, "it is inconceivable that so liberal and intellectual a prince should have sanctioned so arrogant and so transparent a fiction."[4] I quite agree with him in this, but my solution of the mystery is different. I believe that when the Saracens under El-Hakim, the mad khalif of Egypt, first wrested the building from the Christians, in the beginning of the eleventh century, they put up the inscription which William of Tyre saw, in which they ascribed the erection of the building to Omar. When, however, they recovered it from the Christians after the Crusades, and it had been discovered that Omar had built nothing of the sort at Jerusalem, it was thought expedient to ascribe it to the builder of the Aksa. Again, however, when it was pointed out that there was no authority—which there is not—for this, Al-Mamûn's name was selected, and inserted not only in the great inscription, but inscribed over the doorways and in several other places about the mosque, where it is now found. But neither in their books nor in their traditions is there any hint of his having erected this or any other great building at Jerusalem. In order to establish the Mahomedan claim to the building, it was necessary that it should be ascribed to some one who lived before the Crusades, and, after hesitating between Omar and Abd-el-Malek,

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[1] Pez. Thesaur. Anecd. Nov. vol. i. pl. iii. pp. 494 *et seqq.* Tobler's edit. pp. 124 *et seqq.*

[2] Le Temple de Jérusalem, p. 84.

[3] Quarterly Reports, P. E. F. for 1870–71, pp. 164 *et seqq.*

[4] Quarterly Reports, P. E. F. for 1870–71, p. 169.

neither of whom could make good his claim to it, they seem to have chosen Al-Mamûn, though for reasons it is now difficult to ascertain.

Be this as it may, it seems quite impossible that this inscription could have escaped the notice of two such careful observers as John of Würzburg and Theodoricus, if it had existed in their time. They knew perfectly what Saracenic letters were, and the former remarks on an inscription written in them, as we may infer from the context, the only one in the Haram area.[1] I am, however, quite prepared to admit that the Arabic inscription containing a date, 418 H.—but a date only,[2] for the name is carefully erased—may have remained during the age of the Crusades. To me, indeed, it appears certain it was left, and its presence now is most opportune as explaining what without it would have remained a mystery. Practically what it seems to tell is this. When in A.D. 1009 El-Hakim destroyed the Basilica of Constantine, but appropriated the tomb of Christ, and dedicated it to his own religion, he found its interior ornamented with mosaics, some of which still remain. These must, however, have been interspersed with Christian emblems and figures of saints, which were abominations to Moslem eyes. These he obliterated, and they were replaced by his successor, Dhâher, in the year 418 of the Hegira (A.D. 1027), which is the date of the inscription. When the Christians recovered the building in 1099, they knew that the place had been in the hands of the Saracens for ninety years, and may have known that Dhâher was the author of these mosaics. It was sufficient for them to obliterate his name, which could only have been done by the Christians; but they saw no reason for ignoring the date, and they consequently have left that as we now find it, and it is fortunate for our purposes that they have done so, for it enables us to understand the history of these mosaics in a manner we could not have done without its assistance.

A good deal might, no doubt, be said about the employment of square Kufic in nearly as archaic a form as that of this inscription in the mosque at Cordova, A.D. 796,[3] or in that of Ebn-Touloun at Cairo (A.D. 876);[4] still more about that found in the mosques at Delhi or Ajmîr and Samarcand, between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries; but that does not appear to affect the question here.[5] The alphabet employed in this inscription, I am informed by my friend, Mr. Ed. Thomas, who is far more competent of judging such a question than I am, is identical with that found on the coins of Abd-el-Malek. He has also pointed

[1] "Ab Aquilone habens unum ostium, versus claustrum dominorum, in cujus superliminari plures litteræ Sarracenicæ sunt appositæ." Tobler's edit. p. 125.

[2] De Vogüé, Le Temple de Jérusalem, p. 87, pl. xxiii.

[3] Girault de Prangey, Architecture des Arabes, pl. v.

[4] Girault de Prangey, Monuments arabes, pl. 13. Coste, Arch. Arab. pl. v.

[5] A curious illustration of the mode in which these characters were used is found in Girault de Prangey's Architecture des Arabes, pl. 13. In it there is represented an inscription on the robe of King Roger I. with a date, 528 H. (A.D. 1134). This is in a very old form of square Kufic. On the same plate are several inscriptions from the palace of La Cuba, of the same or an earlier date, which are in the Neschi characters current at that time. According to the usual theory, the dates ought to be reversed, and a couple of centuries at least intervene between them.

out to me other difficulties that militate against the acceptance of the name of Abd-el-Malek in lieu of that of Al-Mamûn. All these, however, are details that others must decide. My argument is not based on them, but on the broad fact, that this inscription did not exist there during the time of the First Crusade, and that it consequently must be a forgery of Saladin or of some one of his age.

The fact of the matter seems to be that those who forged this inscription were probably wide enough awake to know that, if they wished it to be believed that it was of the time of Abd-el-Malek or of Al-Mamûn, they must write it in the characters current at the time of the khalif in whose reign they wished it to be believed it had been written. They were trying to establish a claim to a building to which they knew they had no right, and it would be paying the Orientals a very bad compliment to suppose they were not clever enough to know that, if they wished their statements to be believed, they must be engrossed in the characters of the time in which they were dated. Some may probably be inclined to suggest that the square Kufic is much more easily written in mosaic than the cursive writing of the Arabs, but this in itself would not be sufficient to account for its adoption here.

The truest test, however, of the age of this inscription, is its contents. If we assume that it was written either by Abd-el-Malek, or by Al-Mamûn, or by any one else, in a building which they believed to have been erected on the site of Solomon's temple, it is not only inapplicable but unintelligible. If they believed the great Sakhra to be either the site of the Holy of Holies or of the Altar of the Jewish Temple, it seems quite impossible that no reference should be made to the fact, and that the names of David or of Solomon do not occur in any part of it, and that no allusion to their greatness or their works should occur in it, not even a prayer for the rest of their souls. If, on the other hand, we assume that it was written by Saladin, or any one in the twelfth century, on a building which they knew had been appropriated by his co-religionists, but which, as Theodoricus says, writing in 1176, was erected by Constantine and his mother, Helena, in honour of Jesus Christ,[1] then every word becomes intelligible, and is just such as we would expect to find there. It begins, of course, with the usual paragraphs in honour and praise of the founder of their religion, and of the unity of God. Then follows a very emphatic denial of the Trinity, "He neither begetteth nor is begotten," which, however, is so common an expression as not to be important here. Then follows what is certainly most unusual, "Verily, Jesus, the Son of Mary, is the Apostle of God, and his word which he cast over Mary, and a spirit from him. O God, pray for thy Apostle Jesus, the Son of Mary. Peace be on me the day

[1] "Hoc Templum quod nunc videtur ad honorem Domini nostri Jesu Christi ejusque piæ genitricis ab Helena regina et ejus filio imperatore Constantino constructum est" Ed. Tobler, p. 46. The whole passage is printed *in extenso* in the appendix to my little work entitled The Holy Sepulchre and the Temple at Jerusalem, Murray, 1865.

that I am born, and the day I die, and the day I am raised to life again"; and so on to the end. The whole of the latter half of the inscription is, in fact, in honour of Jesus and his mother, and the idea of any Mahomedan inscribing that on a building supposed to be a rebuilding of the Temple of Solomon, and having no reference to Christ, seems too absurd to be entertained for one moment. On the other hand, if any one will read the translation of the great inscription found in Appendix II., with the knowledge that the building in which it is found was erected by the Christians over what they believed to be the sepulchre in which Christ was laid, but which had afterwards been appropriated by the Mahomedans, the whole becomes clear and intelligible.

Without more illustrations than are compatible with the nature of this work, it may be difficult to render this history of the mosaics so clear to others as it appears to myself; and those who have not access to De Vogüé's books may have difficulty in following the line of argument just enunciated. Briefly, their history seems to be this:—

When the building was first erected by Constantine, he adorned it, internally at least, with mosaics, portions of which still remain, and which are those which De Vogüé correctly describes as so nearly resembling those of the fourth century at Rome.

When the Saracens took possession of the building in or after 1009 A.D., they destroyed those parts of these mosaics representing emblems offensive to Moslem ideas, and in 1027 replaced them by those others which we now see. It was probably also at this time that they inserted those inscriptions which assert that Omar had erected the building, with details of the expenses and motives, &c.

When the Christians regained possession of the building, in 1099, they obliterated the Saracenic inscriptions, and replaced them by the Latin ones, copied and published by John of Würzburg and Theodoricus, at the same time probably remodelling the patterns of the mosaics to some extent; but of this we have no direct evidence.

Lastly, when the Saracens recovered possession of the Dome of the Rock, Saladin, or some one about his time, obliterated the Christian inscriptions, remodelled entirely the mosaics of the side aisles at least, and inserted those Kufic inscriptions which ascribe the erection of the building to Abd-el-Malek or Al-Mamûn, and which we see there at the present day.

There is consequently in reality no conflict between the artistic and the epigraphic evidence of the mosaics, and the whole of the story which they tell is in every particular confirmed by the historians of the day, and make it as clear as anything of the sort can be, that the Dome of the Rock was not built by the Saracens at all, but by Christians, who believed it to cover the sepulchre of Christ.

CHAPTER IV.

THE DOME OF THE ROCK.

History.

As before mentioned, I am not aware of the existence of any quotation from any Mahomedan author, who wrote before the Crusades, which asserts that either Abd-el-Malek or any one else erected any circular or octagonal building at Jerusalem, though there are ample details regarding the square one that khalif did erect. Nor do I know of any passage which would convey the idea that the Moslems understood the Sakhra to be a rock. I have already pointed out that, till the Crusades at all events, they adhered to the little or true Sakhra without swerving, and that it was only after that time, when they found themselves in possession of two Sakhras, that they were forced to make an election; just as the Christians, when they found themselves in possession of two sepulchres, were under the necessity of adopting one, and in both instances, unfortunately for the topography of Jerusalem, they chose the false instead of the true one. Even to the present day the Mahomedans have only the haziest ideas possible as to what the great Sakhra really is intended to represent. I do not gather from any author that they really believe it to be the Altar, or the foundation of the Altar, of the Jewish Temple. They know, as we do, that there is nothing in the Bible, or the Talmud, or in any ancient author, to countenance the idea, that the Altar was a rock or founded on a rock; what we do know is that it was in Solomon's time of brass, in Herod's of loose stones, but there is no mention of the rock anywhere. It seems only something that somebody has asserted and every one repeats, without any one enquiring whence the tradition arose.

The principal Mahomedan tradition regarding it is, that it was from this rock that Mahomet ascended to heaven, on his celebrated night journey to that place. Another tradition—the true one, I believe [1]—makes it the burying-place of Solomon; but Enoch has also a place there, and so have Abraham and Elias, and the hand-print of Gabriel is also shown. David and Solomon have mihrabs in the cave below, and both are represented as praying with their faces towards Mecca, as, according to the Mahomedan ritual, they ought to do. If asked the question pointblank at the present day, a Moslem would, no doubt, answer according to the tradition he has learned from the Christians, that it was

[1] *Ante*, page 57.

the site of the Altar of David; but this is not according to anything handed down to him by his forefathers, nor to anything to which he attaches any real importance; it is, indeed, at variance with all we gather from the best Moslem mediæval writers.

On the other hand, nothing can be more curiously characteristic of the uncritical spirit of the age than the conduct of the Christians on their entry into Jerusalem in 1099. Their joy at the recovery of the Dome of the Rock was at least equal to that at their rescuing the sepulchre of Christ out of the hands of the infidels. They immediately proceeded to erect a golden cross on the summit of the dome. They encased the rock in marble, and erected on it a sumptuous shrine. A golden lamp, suspended from the dome, burnt over it day and night. Inside and outside, as we have just seen, it was covered with mosaics, interspersed with Latin inscriptions. Regular canons were appointed to perform service in it daily, and, in all and every respect, the Templum Domini was considered equal in sanctity and importance to the Sepulchrum Domini in the centre of the town.[1]

What, then, did the Christians suppose this building to have been? Certainly not, in the first instance at least, the Temple of the Jews. In no inscription and in no text is it called Templum Salomonis or Judæorum. That, they knew perfectly well, was represented by the Aksa, and that—which they afterwards learned to call "Palatium Salomonis"—they desecrated without a moment's hesitation, and assigned it as a habitation to the knights who, from their residence there, took the name of Templars. They knew the Aksa had been built by the Moslems, and they knew equally well that the Dome of the Rock had not been built by them; hence their different treatment of the two buildings. Beyond this, they seem to have been extremely puzzled to account for the origin of the two. By degrees, as we learn from the inscriptions, they assigned places in the Dome of the Rock, where the Virgin had been presented, when three years old; where Christ himself had been presented to Simeon; where he had driven out those who bought and sold; where he had pardoned the woman taken in adultery; and localities were found for other scenes narrated in the New Testament, as it was the custom of the day, but still without any distinct recognition that, in so doing, they were, in fact, rehabilitating the accursed Temple of the Jews. They could not have forgotten the prophecy so emphatically recalled by Eutychius, "Behold, your house shall be left desolate; of all this glory not one stone shall be left standing on another." Their priests, at least, must have recollected Julian's impious attempt to rebuild the Temple, and how it was prevented by fire from heaven. The tradition of Sophronius and his transactions with the khalif Omar must still have lingered in Jerusalem.

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[1] The references for all these assertions, with the passages on which they are based, will be found in my Topography of Jerusalem, pp. 164 *et seqq.*, and need not therefore be repeated here.

The building of the Aksa by Abd-el-Malek on the site of the Temple was well known and acted upon. What then was this building? The answer given to this question by Theodoricus is probably that which would be given by any one at that age, and is partly true, partly false. It was, he says, built by Constantine and his pious mother, as the fifth rebuilding of the Temple since Solomon's time.[1] It was a dilemma, and it seems there was no other way out of it. It was known to have been built by Constantine, but it could not be the sepulchre of Christ, as this was elsewhere. It must therefore be the Temple, because it could be nothing else, and the simple faith of that day asked no more.[2]

One only tradition of the locality seems to have been preserved unaltered during the whole time of the Crusades, and it is one the least worthy of such distinction. During the time that the Dome of the Rock was known to be the sepulchre of Christ nothing could have appeared more natural and more consonant with the usages of the age than that his brother James should have been buried close to him. We consequently find, according to tradition, that the building, now known as the Dome of the Chain, close to the eastern entrance of the Dome of the Rock, is his reputed sepulchre. It is true, of course, that the Mahomedans lay claim to it. It was, they assert, erected by Abd-el-Malek as a model of the great dome alongside of it, in order that he might judge of the effect before commencing the longer undertaking.[3] Bad as the art of that day was, it is hardly probable that he would erect an open pavilion of eleven sides and with only six internal columns, as a model of a closed building of eight sides externally, and of the complicated structure internally such as that exhibited in the Dome of the Rock. The tradition is evidently only one of those guesses at truth which are so common in Jerusalem. It is difficult, however, to say when the building, as it now stands, was erected. All its seventeen columns are of the Corinthian order, borrowed from some classical building, and its superstructure of round arches has been so covered with tiles, probably at the same time as the great mosque, that it is difficult to say when it may have been built. What we do know is that in the twelfth century it bore the following inscription:—

> "Dic lapis et fossa cujus sunt, quæ regis ossa,
> Sunt Jacobi justi. Jacet hic sub tegmine busti";[4]

and two other longer inscriptions to the same effect, quoted by John of Würzburg.[5] It is true he is said to have been killed by falling from the

[1] Tobler's edit. p. 46.

[2] When we see what things learned men in the present day believe and assert with reference to these very localities, it is only too evident that the nineteenth century has no right to throw stones at the credulity of the twelfth. We are, I believe, worse now than they were then, for we have far better means of knowing what is right, but do not employ them.

[3] Mejr-ud-Dîn, Sauvaire's translation, p. 50.

[4] Theodoricus, Libellus de Loc. Sanct. p. 42.

[5] Pez. Thesaur. Anecd. Nov. p. 496.

pinnacle of the Temple, but that is no reason why he should be buried there, while it was a temple. In fact, the traditions says he was first buried elsewhere, in the valley of Jehoshaphat, and only brought here and buried—"ut eum decuit." I would add, near the sepulchre of his brother; but if any one can assign any other cause for the origin of the tradition, he is welcome. It is curious, but not of much value.

The truth of the matter appears to be that, from the very nature of the case, it is idle to expect that any consecutive or intelligible narrative can be obtained from the traditions connected with this building, or the statements regarding it, made by either its present or its past possessors. Originally built for the Christians, and possessed by them for 686 years, it was first wrested from them in A.D. 1009, and retained by their hated rivals for ninety years. It was recovered by the Christians, and retained by them for eighty-eight years. They then again lost it, and their rivals have since held it for 690 years. Bandied about in this manner from one to another, the Christians have exhausted their ingenuity to invent excuses to explain how they came to lose what they know was their own. The Moslems have been equally industrious in trying to invent titles which would justify their retaining what they know does not belong to them; and between the two they have involved the building in such a mass of contradictory fables that it would be an utterly hopeless task to attempt to unravel its history, were it not that Architecture never lies, and that Art, when not purposely falsified, may be depended upon as speaking the truth. With these two guides, however, the path is tolerably clear, and very little more is now wanted to make the results it leads to absolutely certain.

Even written history, though much less trustworthy, is far from contradicting this view, and indeed rather confirms it, provided we bear in mind that the two centuries during which these transfers and retransfers of the building, backwards and forwards, between the two rival sects took place, were those when the passions of the East and West were most violently excited the one against the other. They were also those in which the critical faculties of mankind were most obscured by passion, and when faith justified means to an extent that would not have been tolerated at other times. When these sources of error are carefully eliminated, there remains a residuum of truth which, with the artistic evidence and the local indications, renders the story of the Dome of the Rock, for the fifteen centuries it has existed, as nearly certain as that of any other building that has been in use as long, and has had so eventful a history.

CHAPTER V.

THE GOLDEN GATEWAY AND THE BASILICA OF CONSTANTINE.

NOTHING has recently been discovered in reference to the Golden Gateway that throws any new light on its history. Unlike the Huldah and southern Parbar gates of the Temple, which were subterranean structures, this was always a free-standing edifice, with architectural ornaments on all its four sides, and therefore nothing was to be discovered by excavations. The one point which has been brought prominently forward is the existence of the commencement of an arcade extending southward along the Haram wall, and to which access was obtained from a portal in its southern wall.[1] From its position, and that of its portal, this gallery or porch, which is about 20 feet in width, was evidently an important structure, and it would be interesting if its extent and form could be ascertained. That, however, could only be obtained by excavations, which are not likely to be at present undertaken. Near the middle of it there is a postern, the "portula" of Arculfus,[2] the existence of which proves that the building to which it gave access must have been of some importance.

In itself, the Golden Gateway is one of the least altered buildings in Jerusalem. It has not been occupied and reoccupied by contending religions, and adapted to their various purposes; and, except a slight alteration in the roof, of no great importance, it remains substantially as it was originally erected, and its age can consequently be obtained from its architecture with more certainty than that of almost any other building in Jerusalem. No one has yet ventured to assert that it could have been erected before the time of Constantine, and no one who knows anything of architecture can fail to see that it was erected long before the age of Justinian, while the presence of sculptured crosses on its capitals proves that it was erected by Christians and for Christian purposes.[3] If, in fact, it is not the festal portal which Eusebius describes Constantine as erecting in front of his Basilica—the crowning member of the group—it seems impossible to suggest what it may have been.

It is quite true, nevertheless, that this view of its origin has not been taken

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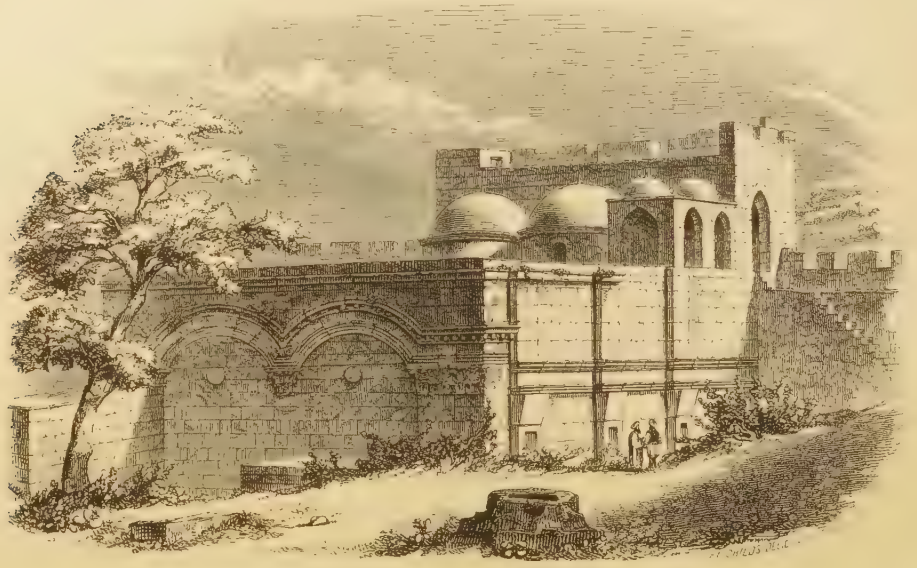
[1] De Vogüé, Le Temple de Jérusalem, p. vii. Major Wilson's Notes, p. 36.

[2] Act. Sanct. ord. Ben. vol. iii. p. ii. p. 504. De Saulcy, Voyage autour de la Mer Morte, p. xxiv. Wilson's Notes, p. 25, pl. x. fig. 6.

[3] De Vogüé, Le Temple de Jérusalem, p. 66.

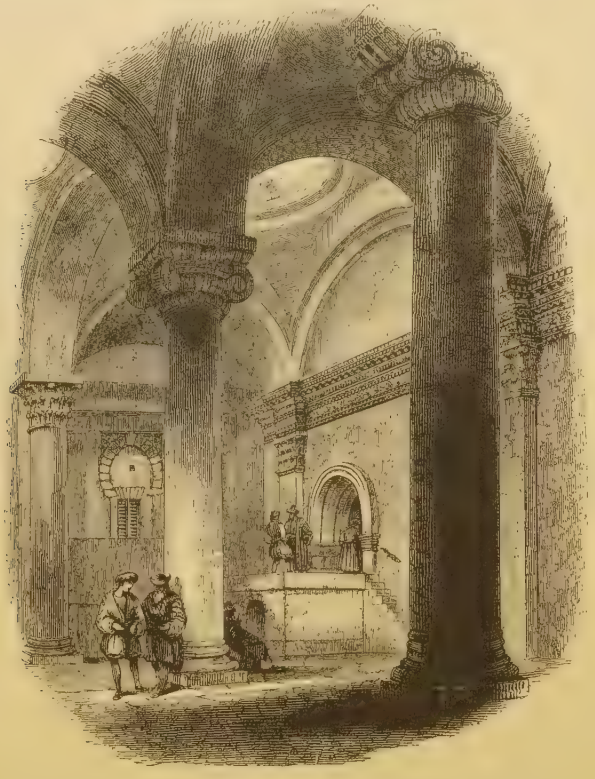
by any English author I am acquainted with; for the simple reason that, though it is now nearly thirty years since the challenge was put forward, no one has yet ventured to accept it. Like the late Professor Willis, they have all ridden off on various extraneous issues, but no one has ventured to say who built the Golden Gateway, nor to suggest how or why it was placed there. They know, perfectly well, that no reasonable answer can be given to these questions that would stop short of an admission that it was built by Constantine; and they know equally well that, if this were admitted, the whole framework of impostures that has grown up around the present Church of the Holy Sepulchre would crumble to pieces like the fabric of a vision. Unfortunately,



67.—WEST FACE OF GOLDEN GATEWAY. (From a drawing by Arundale.)

however, they also know that the apathy of the general public is such, and their ignorance as a rule so great, that they will not demand a categorical answer to this question, for the simple reason that few are aware of the value of architectural evidence in determining such questions. All are, consequently, agreed, and wisely, that silence is the best policy; and they have religiously observed it. It is not, it must be confessed, a very straightforward or dignified way of meeting a difficulty, but it is one that society sanctions; and as long as the world in general are content that it should be so, it must also be content to put up with an imposture. It seems, however, little creditable to the boasted spirit of enquiry, said to be characteristic of the nineteenth century, that this should be so.

Fortunately for the purposes of the present investigation, there are few buildings of antiquity the age of which can be ascertained with greater certainty, from their own intrinsic evidence, than the Golden Gateway. The only difficulty is that it was erected in an age of transition, when the old pagan style was dying out, and the new Christian art can hardly be said to have been born; hence it contains features belonging to both styles, and its style of art is not so settled as to enable us to trace the sequence with the same precision

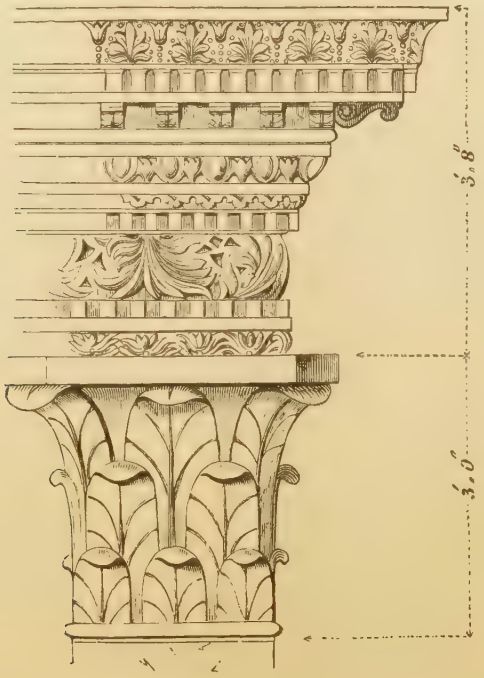


68.—Interior of Golden Gateway. (From a drawing by David Roberts, R.A.)

we might have done had it been erected a century later or earlier. Thus it might, for instance, be fairly argued that it was anterior to the time of Diocletian, because—especially on its western face—all the three members of the classical entablature are bent together into the form of an arch, whereas at Spalatro (*ante*, woodcut No. 57) the architrave is generally separated from the other two members, and employed as an archivolt by itself. When we reflect that, for a thousand years before Constantine's time, the classical entablature had invariably consisted of three chief parts—architrave, frieze, and cornice—and

this combination had become so sacred that their separation had never been attempted, it is probable that bending all three together, as at Jerusalem, would have preceded bending one, and leaving the other two straight, as in Dalmatia. As seen, however, from the woodcut No. 57, both practices were adopted in Diocletian's palace. The architects were, in fact, feeling their way towards the best mode of effecting a change that had become necessary, but had not quite made up their minds how it should be done.

Besides this transitional example at Spalatro, there is an arch and some other buildings at Mylasa in Caria[1] which resemble the Golden Gateway in



69.—CAPITAL AND ENTABLATURE OF THE INTERIOR OF GOLDEN GATEWAY. (From a drawing by Arundale.)

style and arrangement so much more than any known building subsequent to the time of Constantine that it might plausibly be argued that it belonged to Pagan rather than to Christian times. In so far as style is concerned, this might be true; but the Christian crosses on the capitals of the Golden Gateway, like the *bipennis* of Jupiter on the keystone of the Carian arch, are quite

[1] Ionian Antiquities, published by the Society of Dilettanti, vol. ii. pl. xxii. *et seqq.*
[2] De Vogüé, Le Temple de Jérusalem, p. 66.

sufficient to settle that point. The gateway was erected by Christians, and the only question is at what epoch.

On the other hand, I only know of one subsequent example, that of St. John Studios (woodcut No. 64), where the order retains, as in classical times, all the three essential parts of the entablature; but this, as hinted above, may be owing to its being in a metropolis, where the traditions of the art would naturally have been preserved longer than in the provinces. None of the examples drawn by De Vogüé in Syria, of the fifth or sixth century, have the complete entablature; in all, the simple convex Byzantine cornice prevails, without either its accompanying architrave or frieze.

In the interior of the gateway these distinctions are even more clearly marked than on the exterior. A complete entablature runs along both the northern and southern sides, resting on Corinthian pilasters of a thoroughly classical type. Here, however, it is attached to the wall merely as an ornament, without any constructive function to perform; and hence there was no necessity for lightening it, as in the Dome of the Rock, by cutting away the architrave and leaving only a block over each pilaster. The discharging arch, also, over the order is built into the wall, and is part of the construction; but as in the Dome of the Rock, so here the entablature is entirely omitted over the free-standing pillars in the centre of the building. In both instances the arches spring direct from the capitals without any intervening members, and may thus be said to be the first really constructive examples of the newly born Byzantine style, while the pilasters and entablature on the wall are the last reminiscences of the dying style of classical art.

One of the most curious differences in the style of the two buildings is that in the Dome of the Rock the capitals of the arch-bearing pillars are still fairly classical Corinthian. The shafts, of *verde antique* and other precious marbles, are certainly borrowed from other buildings; and the capitals may be reminiscences of those they originally bore. In the Golden Gateway, no attempt is made in these free-standing pillars to reproduce the forms of Pagan art. They are boldly and originally Byzantine, according neither with the corresponding pilasters in the wall nor with anything else of that age. In them, as in the constructive parts generally, the transition is complete; in the other or decorative parts of the gateway, it is only dawning. In fact, from whatever point of view it is regarded, it seems impossible to remove the erection of the Golden Gateway far from the age of Constantine, even supposing the fact of its erection by him being open to doubt. Its Christian character precludes the possibility of its being earlier. Its architectural features prove that it cannot be much—if at all—more modern; and its historical characteristics show as clearly as anything can, that it must have been erected by Constantine, and by him only. From his time to that of Justinian, Jerusalem was a prosperous Christian see. The succession of bishops was unbroken; and numerous writers—Chrysostom,

Jerome, Socrates, Sozomen, and many others—have left records of every noteworthy event that occurred during the interval that elapsed between their two reigns. Not one hint is given by any of them of the erection of any building at Jerusalem between the time of those enumerated by Eusebius and those described by Procopius. Had any, especially any as important as the Golden Gateway, been erected in the interval, it seems impossible that no notice of it should be found anywhere. This evidence is, of course, only negative; but when combined with the direct testimony of Eusebius, that it formed one of a group of buildings erected by Constantine, it seems more than sufficient to settle the point beyond all possibility of dispute.[1]

One new and important fact was brought to light by the Ordnance Survey, which was a much more serious objection to my views, as originally put forward, than the famous one regarding the "broad agora," and one I should have found it very difficult to explain but for a fortunate discovery of Captain Warren, which at once made all clear. It was that the difference of level between the floor of the Golden Gateway and that of the platform on which the Dome of the Rock stands is not less than 50 feet. When I first drew my plans of the Christian buildings in the Haram area, I was not aware of this great difference of level, and drew the Basilica with its atrium as in the axis of the gateway, as is usual in Western churches; but this allowed no means of getting over the fifty feet difference of height, nor do I know now where I could place the stairs requisite for ascending from one level to the other in a dignified manner (see Plan No. V.). One, consequently, of the most important results of Captain Warren's great discovery was that it showed the floor of the Basilica to be 30 feet below that of the upper platform, and hence only 20 feet above the floor of the Golden Gateway, a difference easy to get over. The second important result was that it made it evident that the southern wall of the Basilica was in the position where I had placed the northern, and further that the agora was internal, and not external, as had been generally assumed, and so clearing up all the other outstanding difficulties affecting this branch of the subject still remaining unexplained.[2]

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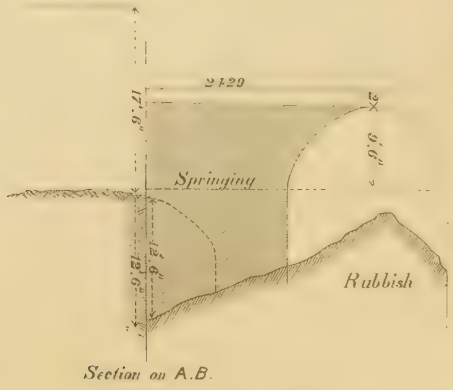
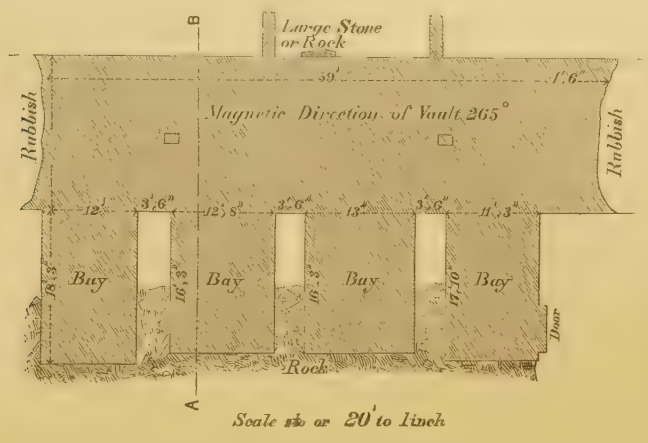
[1] Some further evidence on this subject will be found in Appendix V., treating of the Count de Vogüé's theory of the Haram ash Sharif.

[2] The moment I became aware of the nature of this discovery, from the lithograph prepared by the P. E. F. from sketches he sent home, I wrote to Captain Warren, explaining to him that what he had found was really the Basilica of Constantine, and begging him to continue its exploration before all other things, and offered to pay the expense, which I then believed would probably not exceed £10 to £20. Captain Warren, however, did nothing more in this direction, nor did M. Ganneau, though I have reason for believing he could easily have done it, had be been so inclined, during the year the mosque was desecrated, being in the hands of the workmen for the repairs. On his return home, Captain Warren mentions this discovery in the most perfunctory manner, as of little consequence (Recovery of Jerusalem, pp. 218–221), as not agreeing with Dr. Lightfoot's plan, but at the same time carefully suppressing any allusion to my views, or to the correspondence I had had with him on the subject. Subsequently, in his Underground Jerusalem (pp. 400 *et seqq.*), he merely alludes to it as a cause of bitter

What Captain Warren did discover will be understood from the annexed section and plan, both drawn to a scale of 20 feet to 1 inch. The principal part



70.—SECTION OF VAULTS DISCOVERED BY CAPTAIN WARREN, NORTH OF PLATFORM OF DOME OF ROCK. (Facsimile.)



71.—PLAN OF VAULTS DISCOVERED BY CAPTAIN WARREN.[1] (Facsimile.)

was an aisle about 20 feet in width, blocked up with rubbish, which had fallen in from above, at either end, but which was tolerably clear for about

complaint against me, because, when I found he had come away without any further attempt at exploration, I—fearing that expense might be the cause of nothing further being done—wrote to the "Fund," through Major Wilson, offering them, or any one, one hundred guineas if they would only sink a hole where I had marked it on Plan, Plate V., and ascertain whether the apse was there or not. I am afraid, however, the opportunity is now lost. In the present state of feeling between Christian and Mahomedan, it is scarcely likely any digging there will be allowed, and we must, therefore, be content with the very meagre particulars we now possess.

[1] See also Plate V.

70 feet in length, east and west. On the north side was a wall with no apparent opening in it; on the south four piers were discovered, projecting from 16 to 17 feet from the face of the scarped rock, 3 feet 6 inches in width, and somewat irregularly spaced, ranging from 12 to 13 feet. These piers are partly cut from the living rock, partly eked out by masonry, and are now joined by pointed vaults, evidently of Saracenic origin. Beyond this, westward, at a distance of about 150 feet, "the ground sounds hollow, possibly vaults underneath."[1]

The question is, What is this excavation? It certainly is not a cistern, as there are no arrangements for keeping in the water on three sides, and no trace of its ever having been so employed. Besides, the piers, cut out of the solid rock, with the masonry additions, are not cistern arrangements, and must have been executed for some other purpose. What that purpose may have been, no one has yet ventured to suggest. To me it appears hardly to admit of any question that they must be parts of one of the double aisles of Constantine's Basilica, which Eusebius describes as "partly above ground and partly beneath it."[2] The same arrangement occurs in the contemporary churches of San Lorenzo outside the Walls, and Sant' Agnese at Rome. Both of these churches had a principal, if not the principal, entrance on the flank on the gallery level, and we know that the same thing occurred here, first from the text of Eusebius, and now from this discovery of Captain Warren's. But this is not all; for in consequence of it we can now understand some passages in Eusebius hitherto quite unintelligible, which, but for our improved knowledge of the localities, might have remained so to the end of time. Now, however, anyone who chooses can follow the narrative of Eusebius without hesitation, and identify every act of the Emperor in his search for the Holy places, and his endeavours to render them, by architectural decorations, worthy of the important position they occupied in Christian topography.

As I have already published a careful analysis of the narrative of Eusebius, from his description of the removal of the temple of Venus[3] till the completion of the whole group of buildings,[4] it will not be necessary to go over the same ground again, more particularly as all that really bears on Captain Warren's discovery is contained in chapters xxxiv., xxxv. and xxxvi. of the 3rd book of the 'Life of Constantine.'

In chapter xxxiv. Eusebius describes the manner in which the Emperor ornamented, not only the rock itself, but also the building in which he enclosed it with beautiful columns and every sort of magnificence, meaning, as he says,

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[1] Last edition of Ordnance Survey map, 1876.

[2] *Ἀναγείων τε καὶ καταγείων.* Vita Const. iii. 27.

[3] I wonder if any one ever seriously believed that any Roman emperor had ever erected a temple to Venus on a rock in the middle of the old Jewish town; or was it only that this was one of those ugly-looking facts that it is so convenient to forget and pass over.

[4] Notes on the Site of the Holy Sepulchre, Murray, 1861, pp. 44 *et seqq.*

to make it the chief and principal object of the whole group (τοῦ πάντος κεφαλή). The 35th chapter describes, in a manner not to be mistaken, the platform on which the Dome of the Rock now stands as a vast open space, paved with splendid stones, and having porticos on three sides.[1] Then follows a passage which I would translate as follows:—"The Basilica was attached" (on the north) "to that portion of this platform[2] which is situated to the eastward of the side of the building containing the sacred cave"[3] a rather free translation, it must be confessed, but one that, I believe, will be borne out in every particular by the context. The nominative in the second sentence is certainly the "vast platform," though it is not expressed; and Captain Warren's discovery explains how a basilica can be attached to a platform by being on a lower level, though without this knowledge the statement was inexplicable. The use of the word "cave" only for "building containing cave" added also to the mystery. But a cave can have no sides, and, besides, we had just been told that the holy cave was enclosed in a building which was intended to be the most magnificent of the whole group, and it could only be of the eastern side of this building, not of the side of the cave inside it, that the historian was thinking of, when describing the objects external to it.

"On the north" is, of course, an insertion of my own, but it is just such an expletive as Eusebius might have added, and so saved an infinity of conjectures. There is certainly nothing to show that it might not be inserted, and the new discoveries prove that its insertion was necessary to complete the sense.

There is nothing now existing to show on which of the three sides of the platform the porticos existed, but there is what is now represented as a long cistern on the Ordnance Survey (135 by 23 feet), extending from the northern door of the Dome of the Rock to where, I believe, the transept of the Basilica to have been. I cannot help fancying that this may originally have been intended as an inclined plane joining the two buildings, and, if so, probably covered with a portico, thus cutting the platform into a western and an eastern half, and so explaining further the expression of Eusebius. If so, a portico would certainly extend along the southern face of the Basilica and another probably opposite, so as to hide the Temple area from the sacred precincts of the Christians.[4] This is, and, of course, must, for the present at least,

[1] Διέβαινε δ' ἔξης, ἐπὶ παμμεγέθη χῶρον, εἰς καθαρὸν μίθριον ἀναπεπταμένον, κ.τ.λ.

[2] In ordinary parlance, "platform" is not the usual translation for χῶρον; but, where it is found applied to an open space that takes that form, it seems justifiable. In the present instance, σύνηπτο seems to imply that it was "stuck on" to something that was more clearly defined than a mere open space.

[3] Τῷ γὰρ καταντικρὺ πλευρῷ τοῦ ἄντρου, ὁ δὴ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον ἑώρα, ὁ βασίλειος σύνηπτο νεώς, ἔργον ἐξαίσιον, κ.τ.λ.

[4] In Arculfus' plan of the four churches, quoted further on, a long gallery seems to extend east and west from the northern gateway of Justinian's buildings to somewhere about the Bab el Silsilé, or Gate of the Chain. This may probably be the portico described by Eusebius.

remain, conjecture; but I do not think any candid person can read the narrative of Eusebius, with the plan of Captain Warren's discovery before him, without perceiving what a flood of light it sheds on the subject, and how nearly at last it settles all the disputed points regarding the position of the Basilica and Anastasis with their surroundings.

The results of this discovery are even more satisfactory as regards the Golden Gateway than respecting the Basilica. When I first wrote on the subject, I had no means of knowing whether the atrium of the Basilica could or could not be joined to it. It is now certain that it could not. The building stands entirely free, and nothing was attached to it but the corridors along the Haram walls, which certainly existed on the south and probably on the north side of the building. The mode, consequently, in which the two buildings were joined was an inexplicable mystery till it was discovered that I had placed the northern wall of the Basilica where the southern wall ought to have been, when the whole thing became clear at once. After describing the interior of the Basilica, and its three eastern doors, Eusebius adds, "There was then the atrium, with its porticos on either side, and after that" (eastward) "the gates of the atrium." "After these, the vestibule of the whole group of buildings" (the Golden Gateway), "situated in the middle of a broad agora, and ornamented in the most ambitious manner, and so placed that those who were outside, when they looked inward, were struck with the magnificence of what they saw."[1] Any one turning to the plan (Plate V.) will see at once how perfectly every syllable of this is explained by the buildings as now arranged. The agora was inside, not outside. The Golden Gateway was independent of the Basilica, and those who looked inward, through it, must certainly have been struck with the splendour of the prospect. In front of them was the magnificent flight of steps leading to the upper platform. On the right was the Basilica, on the left the Church of Golgotha, and in front the Dome of the Rock, the chief building of the whole group. At first sight, some of Eusebius' expressions appear exaggerated, but when these buildings are restored, as they can easily be from the two that remain, they appear to be fully justified.

Beside the Anastasis and Martyrion, or, in other words, the Dome of the Rock and the Basilica of Constantine, there was a third church, belonging to the same group, called that of Golgotha. It is, however, by no means clear by whom it was built. It is not mentioned by Eusebius among the buildings of the Emperor, nor is there any hint of such a building being erected by any one between the times of Constantine and Justinian; still there can be no doubt of its existence. Arculfus calls it a large church towards the

[1] Vita Const. iii. 39.

east, erected in that place which in Hebrew is called Golgotha.[1] The monk Bernhard apparently confounds it with the Basilica of Constantine,[2] to which it was attached; but both of them mention it as one of the four separate and distinct churches which in their age made up the Christian group. The probability seems to be that it may have been built by Helena, the mother of the emperor, when she first discovered the crosses, which seems to have been the first act in that strange drama. Be this as it may, both Arculfus and Bernhard describe it as situated on one side of the platform,[3] the *παμμεγέθη χῶρον* of Eusebius. Antoninus, indeed, gives the distance, 400 feet (LXXX *gressus*), which is exactly that which we obtain from the Ordnance Survey.[4]

It is impossible now to say what may have been the height of the rock of Golgotha at the time of the Crucifixion; it still stands more than 20 feet above the level of the floor of the Golden Gateway, and has every appearance of having been levelled, probably at the time when it, with its coherent basilica, was destroyed, either at the end of the tenth or at the beginning of the eleventh century. If it stood 10 or 15 feet higher, it is easy to understand how such a rock overhanging the valley of the Kidron should have been chosen as a place of execution for the city of Jerusalem.

Whatever it may have suffered with respect to height, the rock still retains one of those features which are important in determining the locality. When describing the church in the sixth century, Antoninus mentions that at the altar there is an opening, at which, "if you place your ear, you hear the flowing of water, and if you throw into it an apple, or anything that will swim, and go afterwards to Siloam, you will find it there."[5] The rock is still honeycombed with cisterns, but whether they communicate with each other,

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[1] "Alia vero pergrandis ecclesia orientem versus in illo fabricata est loco, qui Hebraice Golgotha vocatur." Acta Sanct. sæc. iii. pars ii. p. 524.

[2] "Intra hanc civitatem, exceptis aliis ecclesiis, quatuor eminent ecclesiæ mutuis sibimet parietibus cohærentes, una videlicet ad orientem quæ habet nomen Calvariæ, et locum in quo reperta fuit crux Domini et vocatum basilica Constantini. Alia ad meridiem" (Justinian's church), "tertia ad occidentem, in cujus medio est sepulchrum Domini." Acta Sanct. ord. Benedict. iii. pars ii. p. 524. Professor Willis, in his work on the Holy Sepulchre, p. 136, perceives the contradiction in this passage, where it is said there were four churches, while only three are described, and boldly translates "tertia" as "fourth." I could not dare to do this, but it is one way at least out of the difficulty, and one, as it happens, in accordance with the facts of the case.

[3] "Inter prædictas igitur IIII ecclesias est paradisus sine tecto, cujus parietes auro radiant, pavimentum vero lapide sternitur pretiosissimo" (almost the words of Eusebius) "habens in medio sui confinium IIII catenarum quæ veniunt a prædictis IIII ecclesiis in quo dicitur medius esse mundus." Bernhard, Tobler's ed. p. 93.

"Inter Anastasim, hoc est illam sæpe memoratam rotundam ecclesiam, et Basilicam Constantini quædam patet plateola usque ad ecclesiam Golgothanam, in qua videlicet plateola die et nocte lampades ardent." Adam. *loc. cit.*

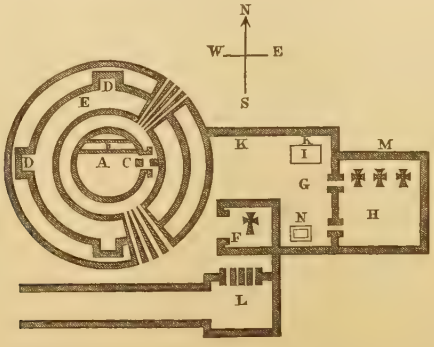
[4] Antoninus, Tobler, p. 21.

[5] "Ad altarium est crepatura, ubi ponis aurem et audies flumina aquarum, et si jactas malum, pomum aut aliud, quod natare potest, et vadis ad Siloam fontem et ibi suscipies." Ant. Tobler, p. 21.

or where they overflow, has not yet been ascertained; the strong probability is, however, that the overflow of all the cisterns on this hill is towards Siloam, and, at all events, it is quite certain that there are no such cisterns under the Golgotha in the city, and no flow towards Siloam from that side of the town. The experiment might easily be tried now, and an answer obtained if the ancient channels are not choked up, which, however, they may possibly be.

We are now in a position to understand the plan of Arculfus,[1] which, if taken for what it pretends to be, is perfectly intelligible, and ought to be final in this controversy. Like Eusebius, he avowedly exaggerates the importance of the Anastasis, which was the head of the whole.[2] The Basilica, which contained nothing sacred, and was merely architecturally important, is represented by the letter M.[3] Even the Church of Golgotha is represented as less important than the place where the crosses were found, and the plateola is represented by two K's, as if it included not only the platform but the agora, which, in his mind perhaps, they did; while Justinian's Mary Church, which was the fourth in the group, is represented only by its propylon. All the four are there, however, and in their relative positions, though certainly not in their relative proportions, and so arranged as to prove, so far as I am capable of forming an opinion, the correctness of the

[1] 72.—PLAN OF THE FOUR CHURCHES IN THE HARAM AREA. (By Arculfus.)



A, Tegurium Rotundum. B, Sepulchrum Domini. C, Altaria Dualia. D, Altaria. E, Ecclesia. F, Golgothana Ecclesia. G, In loco altaris Abraham. H, In quo loco Crux Dominica cum binis latronum crucibus sub terra reperta est. I, Mensa lignea. K, Plateola in qua die et nocte lampades ardent. L, Sanctæ Mariæ ecclesia. M, Constantina Basilica, hoc est martyrum. N, Exhedra cum calice Domini.

[2] "Has itaque quaternalium figuras ecclesiarum, juxta exemplar, quod mihi (ut supra dictum est) Arculfus in paginola figuravit cerata, depinximus. Non quod potest earum similitudo formare in pictura, sed ut Dominicum monumentum, licet tali vili figuratum, in medietate rotundæ ecclesiæ constitutum monstretur, aut quæ hinc proprior ecclesia vel quæ eminus posita declaretur." Acta Sanct. vol. iii. pars ii. p. 457.

[3] Nothing in this plan is more misleading than the fact that the Basilica is not figured on the plan at all, and its position merely indicated by the letter M, which, however, is quite correct, as far as it goes.

distribution of the Holy Places shown in Plan V., which is based on a photographic reduction of the Ordnance Survey.[1]

Among the places mentioned by Arculfus in his narrative, and marked on his plan, is one which, in any ordinary controversy, would be considered final, as fixing the position of the Christian edifices on the eastern hill. Between the two churches—the Basilica of Constantine and the Church of Calvary—he points out the spot where Abraham prepared to sacrifice his son Isaac.[2] It is true, of course, that this sacred locality, with all the others, has been transferred to the sepulchre in the town, though one would fancy the idea of Abraham sacrificing his son in the middle of a town of the Jebusites would be rather a strong dose to be swallowed by even the dullest of mediæval tradition-mongers.

The fact, however, seems to be that tradition always connected this proposed sacrifice with the Mount Moriah and the Altar of David. Even Josephus asserts distinctly that Abraham offered up Isaac on the mountain on which David afterwards built—or proposed to build—the Temple.[3] St. Jerome, on three separate occasions, states, on the authority, apparently, of the Jews, that the Temple was built on Mount Moriah, on which Abraham offered up Isaac,[4] and this is endorsed by St. Augustine,[5] and seems to have been the tradition preserved throughout the Middle Ages,[6] and only not to

[1] The plan here given is based partly on the narrative of Arculfus, as written down by Adamnanus, partly on the plan drawn by him on the wax tablet. It is a little difficult to reconcile some of their statements, but it must be borne in mind that the text was dictated from memory to a person who knew nothing of the locality, and the plan was drawn, equally from memory, not as a correct survey of the locality, but to explain the relative position and relative importance of the four churches, which then formed the Christian establishment of Jerusalem.

[2] "Inter has itaque duales ecclesias ille famosus occurrit locus in quo Abraham patriarcha altare composuit, super illud imponens lignorum struem, et ut Isaac immolaret filium suum . . . ubi nunc mensa lignea et parva, super quam pauperum eleemosinæ a populo offeruntur." Act. Sanct. *loc. sup. cit.*

[3] Antiquities, i. 13, 1 & 2.

[4] Com. in Jeremiam, ch. xxvi. iv. 1026; Com. in Genesim, ch. xxii. 2, iii. 337; Com. in Mark, ch. xv. xi. app. 125.

[5] Opera omnia, tertia editio. Venetiis, 1797, vol. xvi. p. 691.

[6] One of the most distinct of these records is that of the deacon Theodorus or Theodosius, who, according to his editor, Dr. Tobler, travelled in Palestine in the sixth century. The paragraph is quoted here entire, as translated from an unpublished MS. in the Catholic University of Louvain, by Mr. A. B. M'Grigor, of Glasgow:—"From the [scene of the] Passion of the Lord, which is the place of Calvary, to the Sepulchre of the Lord [the distance is] fifteen paces. There men were purged from their sins. There Abraham offered his son for a burnt offering to the Lord, which mount is ascended by steps. There the cross of the Lord was found where it is called Golgotha. There are, however, some who affirm that the whole part [of the cross] which touched the naked body of the Lord, and was dyed with His blood, was forthwith carried away from human touch and sight to heaven, and that it will at last appear at the judgment. And note that Jerusalem is called the place of the valley of vision by Isaiah on account of the height of the hills, on which summit is the little hill called Moria, on which Abraham sacrified Isaac, where the Jews report [that] after[wards] the Temple [was] built, and the altar, on which hill also Abraham made an altar, and David saw the angel sheath a sword in the threshing-floor of Ornan the Jebusite. Concerning which [hill] Isaiah says, 'There shall be a mountain on the top of the mountains,' at it every nation [and] every tribe adores the temple. There also Jacob saw the ladder, whence it is called Bethel. From Golgotha to St. Syon [are] two hundred paces, which is the mother, as they report, of all churches," &c. To this Mr. M'Grigor adds, "Whatever else may be thought of this, one thing seems clear, that the writer believed that the same hill witnessed, in succession, the offering of Isaac, the vision of the angel at Araunah's threshing-floor, the building of the Temple, and the death and burial of our Saviour." See Notes and Queries for January 27, 1877.

have been distinctly asserted by Arculfus because it was so apparent that it did not require being stated. If the Christian edifices were on the eastern hill, it was perfectly well known that the Temple was so also, and to state it in writing would certainly have been a work of supererogation. Any attempt to reconcile his descriptions with the position of the buildings in the town appears to me one of the most hopeless of undertakings, but placed as shown in the plan, Plate V., not only is every word of his description intelligible, but this and all other traditions of his age find a fitting local habitation and a name. Though as historical facts they may be worthless, it frequently happens that these traditions are of the utmost importance as local indications, connecting together places that, without their evidence, we might fancy far asunder.

Before describing Justinian's Mary Church—which, though one of the four great churches of Jerusalem in Arculfus' time, was not situated on any sacred site—it may be well to cast a glance backwards, to see how far the Jewish and Christian sites, just pointed out, accord with or illustrate the scenes of the Passion, which the Christian buildings were erected to commemorate.

The place where the Sanhedrim sat, before whom Christ was taken to be judged, was undoubtedly the room Gazith, at the southern end of the Court of the Women in the Temple. Thence he was taken along the east and north sides of the Court of the Gentiles to the Tower Antonia, which was then the Prætorium and the residence of the Roman governor. The Gabbatha, or pavement, where the next scenes were enacted, must have been the inner courtyard of that fortress, and it was in the dungeons either beneath or attached to that court that he was mocked and scourged. Whether the Masonic Hall, so called, with the pillar in its centre, was or was not the actual spot where these sad scenes took place, must be left for future determination. When these chambers are more perfectly explored than they have hitherto been, we may be able to determine some points that must for the present be left for conjecture; but with regard to the main facts, and to its being within the precincts of this fortress that all these scenes took place, there seems to be no reasonable doubt.

From the court of the fortress to the place of execution measures about 300 yards, a distance along which a strong man might be expected to bear the cross on which he was to be executed; but even that distance was too great for Jesus. He sank under the load, and they compelled Simon, a Cyrenian, who passed by, "coming out of the country," to bear his cross. The expression in St. Mark, "And when they had mocked him, they took off the purple from him, and put his own clothes on him, *and led him out*" (ἐξάγουσιν αὐτὸν) "to crucify him." This accords perfectly with the parallel passage in St. John, who says, "And he, bearing his cross, went forth" (ἐξῆλθεν) "into a place called the place of a skull"; all tending to show that he was led out

from the Prætorium towards the country, and apparently to no great distance. Such at least is the impression we gather from all the circumstances of the case as narrated by the Evangelists. The soldiers who mocked him while on the cross, and who brought him vinegar,[1] do not seem to have been the guard detached specially to see the execution properly carried out, but the idle soldiers of the neighbouring garrison, who, with the people, had assembled to see the execution.

The vinegar here spoken of is evidently the *posca*, which, when mixed with water, was the ordinary drink of the Roman soldiers, and must have been administered by them, rather than by the Jews, who did not and would not have been allowed to interfere with the execution when once it had taken place. This is even more apparent in the last moments of his agony, when Jesus exclaimed, "Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani," which of course the soldiers did not understand. One of them ran and filled a sponge full of vinegar, and gave it him to drink, the obvious inference being that he ran to his barracks, which could not be far off, and fetched what was there to be had in abundance.

We gather the same impression from the conduct of the priests and the people throughout all these transactions. They went together to the Roman governor to clamour together for his execution, but there is no hint that any of the priests accompanied him to the place of execution. He was followed there by a great crowd of people (*πόλυ πλῆθος τοῦ λαοῦ*); but the priests apparently kept apart, and "mocking him, with the scribes and elders, said, He saved others; himself he cannot save."[2] Where, then, were these priests? The answer seems easy; they were looking on, from the roof of the northern cloister of the Temple. There at least they could easily see all that passed, and gloat in security over the sufferings of their victim.

All the scenes of the Passion are so familiar to every educated Christian that it is needless to recapitulate or enlarge on them here[3] further than to point out that, in order to understand their topographical bearing, it seems indispensable that in the immediate vicinity of the place of execution there should be, first, the Temple with its vindictive priesthood, next the Prætorium, with its idle and insolent soldiery, and, lastly, a public road leading from one of the gates of the city, or of the fortress, along which crowds of people were passing between the country and the town. It is also indispensable that the place of execution should be outside the walls; and this we know was the case with the locality now indicated, as the wall that enclosed the cemetery, which before was unprotected, was erected by Herod Agrippa

[1] Luke xxiii. 36.
[2] Matt. xxvii. 41, 42.
[3] The whole of this argument has been admirably stated, and with great fulness, by the Rev. George Sandie, in his work entitled Horeb and Jerusalem, published by Edmonston and Douglas, 1864.

thirteen years after the time of the Crucifixion, "when those parts that were situated to the northward of the Temple stood all naked."[1]

From the absence of distinct topographical indications in the New Testament, it may be difficult to prove this with such mathematical clearness as to defy contradiction. But this, I think, may be asserted without the smallest fear of refutation, that there is not one word in the narratives of the four Evangelists which is not perfectly and easily intelligible on the assumption that the localities are those which are pointed out in the preceding pages; while it may be asserted with equal confidence that there is not one word in the Bible narrative, which can be applied to the sepulchre in the town, without being twisted to an extent beyond the fair limits of reasonable interpretation. If, indeed, it were only the truth or reasonableness of the Bible narrative that were at stake, few, I believe, would doubt the correctness of what has just been stated; but, unfortunately, a sacred tradition has to be defended, that thousands and tens of thousands have implicitly relied upon during the last eight hundred years. On the other hand, the discovery that the Dome of the Rock was built by Constantine, and for seven centuries enjoyed the reputation of being the sepulchre of Christ, is only a new truth of no saving help to any man's faith, even though it explains much in the Bible narrative that was hitherto obscure and unintelligible. Under these circumstances, it is little to be wondered at that, with nine men out of ten, especially among the clergy, it is considered better that the Bible should stand on one side. It can take care of itself, but the tradition must be carefully nursed, or it may die, and by its death cause a vacancy that, with the multitude at least, it would be difficult to replace.

[1] Josephus, B. J. v. 4, 2.

CHAPTER VI.

JUSTINIAN'S CHURCH AND THE MOSQUE EL AKSA.

The fourth of the great churches which adorned the Haram area in the early ages of Christianity belongs to a totally different category from the three just described, which were built by Constantine or his mother. They were erected in honour of the Son, to commemorate his Passion, and to sanctify the spots where he suffered and was buried, and they sufficed for the faith of that age. Before Justinian's time, however, a new article of faith had been added to the creed, and Mariolatry had assumed an importance almost equal to the worship in earlier times only accorded to the Son. No ecclesiastical establishment could consequently be considered complete without a church dedicated to the Mother of God (*τῇ θεοτόκῳ*). This want Justinian undertook to supply. In doing so, however, he was not, like his predecessor, bound to any particular spot, but it was deemed indispensable it should be near, practically attached, to the other churches erected by Constantine.

We do not know sufficiently how the northern portion of the Haram area was occupied at that time to be able to explain why he did not place his church on the north side of the Basilica of Constantine. Possibly it may have been occupied by the residences or other ecclesiastical offices belonging to that establishment. In the time of the Crusades, this certainly seems to have been the case,[1] and it may have been so in Justinian's time. But, from whatever cause, it is certain that he chose the south-eastern angle, notwithstanding the difficulties it presented in consequence of the inequality of its levels, and of its being hemmed in between the Temple and the steep valley of the Kidron. The description of the building by Procopius and the hints we get from Antoninus are so circumstantial and so distinct that no author of any importance, that I am acquainted with, doubts that the church stood in the southern portion of the Haram area. Some, it is true, like De Vogüé,[2] place it actually within the precincts of the ancient Temple, and assume that the present mosque El Aksa is, or was, Justinian's church, converted into a mosque. Of all the strange theories which the defenders of the present sepulchre

[1] "Ab aquilone" (from the Templum Domini) "idem atrium angustatur in parte propter adjunctionem claustri dominorum." John of Würzburg, Tobler's ed. p. 129.

[2] *Vide* Appendix V.

have been forced to adopt, this is one of the most absurd and untenable; in the first place, because it is known and universally admitted that, from the time of Julian's frustrated attempts in the fourth century till the time of Eutychius, in the eighth at least (*ante*, page 182), the site of the Temple of the Jews was held to be accursed by the Christians, and the idea, of Justinian building his Mary Church within it, is too preposterous to be for one moment entertained. In the next place, it is contradicted by every word in the description of Procopius. What he tells us is that the site he chose was so uneven that he was obliged to expend immense treasures to bring up the foundation to a sufficient height for a situation for his church.[1] Had he chosen the position of the Aksa, all he would have had to do would have been to clear away some ancient remains, "veterum ruinarum reliquias," as Arculfus tells us Abd-el-Malek did, and he would have secured a foundation so solid and level as not to require the expenditure of one penny piece for this purpose. Had he elected to erect it on the site of the ancient Temple, there was a perfectly level and solid foundation 600 feet square, on any part of which he might have erected buildings of double the extent we are led to expect he ever contemplated. And, thirdly, we have, after Justinian's time, a detailed account of the cession of the Temple area, by the patriarch Sophronius to Omar, on his undertaking to erect only one place of prayer in Jerusalem, and we have detailed accounts of the buildings of Omar and Abd-el-Malek, which make it quite certain that the Aksa was built by them from the foundations, while there is absolutely no hint or complaint before the eleventh century that the Moslems had violated the terms of Omar's treaty, and had appropriated Justinian's or any other church to their purposes.

Most of the facts bearing on this question have already been alluded to in the preceding pages, and I shall have again occasion to recur to them in Appendix V., when noticing De Vogüé's views on the subject; meanwhile, the three facts just quoted will probably suffice to show that the Aksa is not Justinian's church, nor situated in the same locality. If, therefore, this church stood within the southern limits of the Haram area, there is absolutely no place for it but in that angle, where, as is shown above, it seems now quite certain that Solomon's palace once stood.

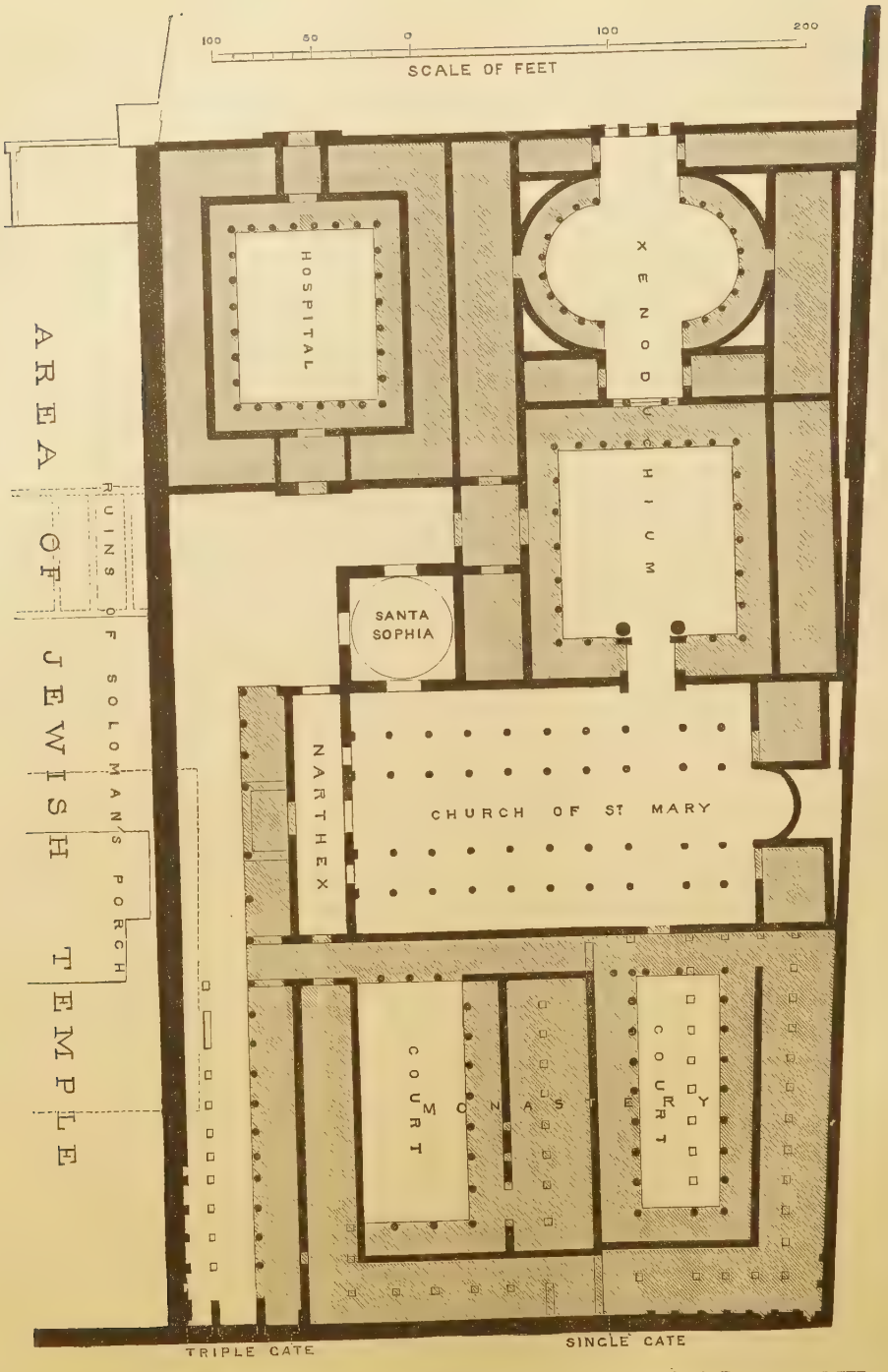
Among the minor points connected with the topography of Jerusalem, there are few more perplexing or mysterious than our utter ignorance of how this angle was occupied from the time of the Captivity to that of Justinian. That the palace was burnt when the city was taken is more than probable; but even supposing it was not rebuilt and occupied as a palace after the return, it is most improbable that so valuable a site would have been allowed to lie waste or covered with ruins. It must have been utilised in some way

[1] *Vide* Appendix III.

or other; yet we have not in Josephus or any other author a hint that would guide us to a knowledge of the manner in which this was done. The east front of the Temple is not, apparently, mentioned in the 'Wars of the Jews.' The Romans never attacked that side of the Temple, though it would appear to have been even more vulnerable than the front protected by the tower Antonia. It almost seems as if Lewin[1] and Sandie[2] were right, that there was a "so-called Kidron ravine" distinct from "the Kidron valley," which ran past this front or angle, and that the north-east angle really stood on a precipice, as Josephus asserts.[3] This, however, can only be ascertained when excavations are made, which have not yet been attempted, and will hardly be allowed while the present state of affairs lasts.

What Procopius tells of this building, is this.[4] The Emperor, having determined to erect a temple to the Mother of God, chose a site which, unlike that of the other churches of the city, was steep and rugged, and did not possess either on the south or east sides sufficient space for an establishment such as he wished to erect; he, consequently, was obliged to carry up walls or piers from the foundation, and join them with arches till the structure reached the level of the rest of the sacred area (*ἐνθέμενοι συνάπτουσι τὴν οἰκοδομίαν τῷ ἄλλῳ τοῦ τεμένους ἐδάφει*), so that one half of the structure rested on the solid rock, one half hung in the air on the substructure so raised. This description fits exactly with the state of affairs we now find in this angle of the Haram area, but does not apply in the remotest degree to anything known to exist elsewhere; especially so as regards the levels, for the pavement supported by the arches in the south-east angle is exactly on the same level (contours 2409, 2412) as the floor of the Golgotha Church and that of the Basilica of Constantine. He then goes on to narrate how the Emperor, in order to get stones of sufficient size for this great undertaking, was obliged to open new quarries for the new work, and chariots so large as to require 40 chosen oxen to draw them; all which would justify the belief that the whole substructure of the south-east angle, 80 feet below the present surface, was the work of Justinian, if it were not, as stated above, that we have strong reasons for believing it to be the work of Solomon. Then follows a description of the pains he took, and at what enormous cost he got timbers of sufficient length and sufficient scantling for the roof of his church, and marble pillars of great beauty to adorn the interior. He then describes the arrangement of the parts, but without dimensions, and in such a manner that, as in the case with almost every verbal description that has come down to us from antiquity, it is impossible to feel much confidence in any restoration.

[1] Sketch of Jerusalem, pp. 208, 217.
[2] Horeb and Jerusalem, p. 259.
[3] B. J. vi. 4, 2.
[4] De Ædificiis Justiniani, v. 6. The passage is too long to print *in extenso* in the text, but a translation of it will be found in Appendix III., to which the reader is referred.



73.—Diagram explanatory of the Probable Arrangement of Justinian's Buildings in the South-east Angle of the Haram.

That shown in the woodcut on the opposite page must be considered as only tentative, and open to any amount of criticism and emendation.

It seems probable that the church itself stood on that part of the foundation which is solid, and lay in a direction east and west; not only because eastern orientation was then becoming fashionable in the Greek Church, but because Procopius mentions that it was surrounded by external colonnades on all sides except the *east*, which favours this idea. The narthex, consequently, would face the west; but whether accessible from the Triple Gateway, or whether that incline was closed, it is not now easy to determine without excavation.

Among other peculiarities, Procopius mentions two enormous pillars "unsurpassed by any in the world," which stood before the door of the church externally. This, however, occurs in the text after describing the interior, but before alluding to the narthex. There must, therefore, have been another door not on the west, but most probably where I have placed it at the northern end of the transept, where it would be both convenient and appropriate. I have assumed there was a transept from the spacing of the arches in the southern vaults. When I last wrote on the subject, I assumed that this spacing —21, 30, and 21 feet—indicated the existence of an octagonal cupola over the church supported on pendentives.[1] A more careful study, however, of the text of Procopius leads me now to believe that the roof was wholly of wood, and the spacing would, therefore, indicate the existence of a transept. Except as regards the design, the matter is not of much consequence, as no part of the church stood actually over the vaults now open; but their piers, either partially opened or filled in, may reach quite across the church to the northern side.

The vaults to the southward of the church were far too weak to support either the Stoa Basilica, as Captain Warren supposes, or even the walls of a church such as that just described; but they are quite sufficiently strong to support a cloister and the one-storeyed buildings of an Oriental monastery. As such I have restored it, this theory being consonant with what Procopius tells us of the Emperor's intention and the general arrangement of such buildings.

To the north I have placed the hospital and guest apartments; but, again, these arrangements are left very much to imagination. Though we cannot believe that the hospital contained three thousand beds, as Antoninus asserts, it was and must have been by far the most extensive establishment of its class in Jerusalem, and seems to have been erected to supply the pilgrims to the holy places with that accommodation which Constantine had neglected to afford.

One other peculiarity is mentioned by Antoninus (570 A.D.), which is the

[1] Topography of Jerusalem, p. 123.

tradition that the Prætorium was situated here, and that in this church, alongside Solomon's Porch, was the judgment seat on which Pilate sat when Christ was brought before him.[1] This tradition is interesting as showing that the memory of Solomon's judgment seat still lingered—perhaps even the building—down to the sixth century, and that the position of Solomon's Porch was then perfectly well known; a fact that at once clears away a vast amount of ingenious, but very unsound speculation.

In the plan of Justinian's buildings (woodcut No. 73), I have reproduced the judgment seat of Solomon as shown in the plan of his buildings (Plate I.), merely altering its name to that of Sancta Sophia, which seems to be what it bore in the middle ages. It is, of course, impossible to prove that this was so, but it not only fits admirably with all we know of the locality, but also with all the written indications we have regarding these buildings. The point is, however, well worthy of further investigation, for if the identity of the two buildings could be established, it would do more to connect the earliest with the latest buildings in the Haram area than almost any other theory that can be suggested.

Although the site chosen by Justinian was only about half the extent of that occupied by the Temple of the Jews as rebuilt by Herod, it seems to have been ample for the accommodation of a first-class religious establishment as arranged in his day. There was room for a church as large as almost any one we know of that age, always, of course, excepting his own Sancta Sophia in his capital. Beyond that to the southward there was space enough—more, indeed, than seems to have been required—for the accommodation of a very large monastic establishment. To the north there was also abundant room for a hospice or guest hall, and for a hospital for sick or infirm persons. Whether these were arranged exactly as shown in the plan, it is impossible to say. All that is proposed in the drawing is that it shall accord with Procopius' description as nearly as it is possible to understand it; and, secondly, that it shall be convenient, and accord with the usual distribution of such establishments in so far as they are known to us. Any attempt to carry it further into detail would be, not only a waste of time, but in reality deceptive, as leading to the presumption that materials did really exist for a more complete restoration. As nothing except the arches and the piers that support them in the south-east corner of the Haram area now exists on the spot, and there is nothing beyond the description of Procopius, and one or two hints from other authors, to guide us in our restoration, it seems in vain to hope for much greater

[1] "De Sion venimus in basilicam Sanctæ Mariæ ubi est congregatio magna monachorum, ubi sunt et xenodochia virorum ac mulierum; mensæ innumerabiles, lecti ægrotorum sunt amplius tria millia. Et oravimus in Prætorio ubi auditus est Dominus, et modo est basilica Sanctæ Sophiæ. Ante ruinas templi Salomonis sub platea aqua decurrit ad fontem Siloam. Secus porticum Salomonis in ipsa basilica est sedes, in qua sedit Pilatus quando Domiaum audivit," &c. Ant. Mart. ed. Tobler, p. 25.

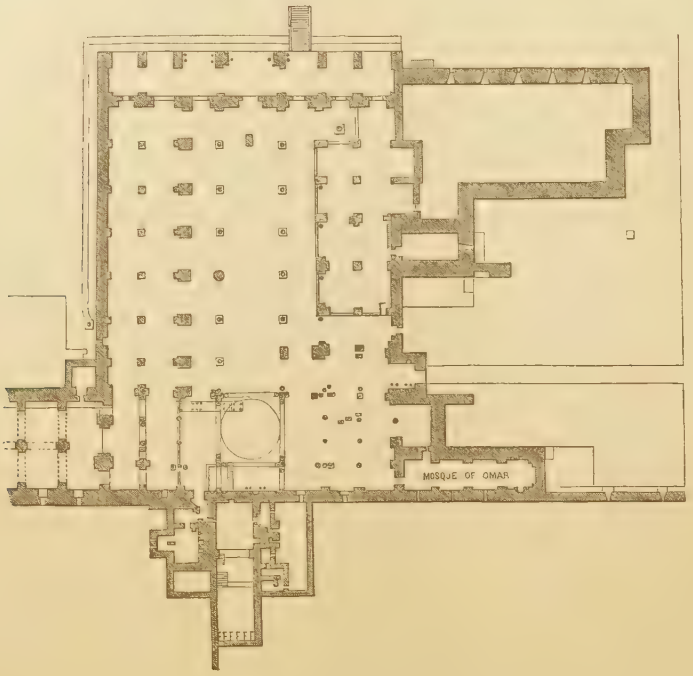
precision than is shown in woodcut No. 73, unless excavations should reveal something which is at present hidden from us, and which, unfortunately, is not under present circumstances likely to be disclosed to us within any reasonable limit as to time.

If anything like fair dealing were tolerated in a controversy of this sort, or the same logic were applied to buildings in Jerusalem that is applied to buildings elsewhere, this one fact—which no one disputes—of Justinian erecting his Mary Church where he did, would be considered as final in the controversy. No reason can be assigned—at least, none has yet—for the Emperor choosing the most difficult and expensive site about Jerusalem for this purpose, except it was that all the Christian churches at that date were within the Haram area, and it was consequently indispensable that his should be there also. Had the Sepulchre then been where it now is, he probably would have acted as his successors did, and placed his church where that of Sancta Maria Latina stood, in the same relative position to the new holy places that Sancta Maria Græca did to the older Constantinian buildings, and he never would have thrust his great establishment between Solomon's Porch of the Temple, and the brow of the valley of Kidron. This, however, is one of those important questions which writers about Jerusalem have taken special care to avoid answering. They know perfectly well its difficulty, and that an incautious answer might betray the weakness of their cause. Silence in that case is far safer, and they fancy they may surely trust to the ignorance and indifference of their readers. They are probably right, but if any one is really in earnest, and anxious for the truth, perhaps he will try at least to explain what is now so mysterious.

El Aksa.

After all that has been said above about the selection by Omar of a site for the erection of his mosque within the precincts of the Jewish Temple, and of its erection there by Abd-el-Malek, under the name of El-Aksa, a very few words will suffice to explain its bearing on the question of its identity with the church of Justinian, with which it has been so frequently confounded. Except for its situation and bearing on the questions now occupying us, the Aksa has no claim on our attention. Its history, as above explained, is perfectly well known, and is of no particular interest; and whether looked at from a constructive or artistic point of view, there is probably no building—certainly none of the same dimensions erected by the Moslems—in any part of the world so totally devoid of merit of any class or kind. No building, in fact, more richly deserved the description of it given by Arculfus, who saw it in its first bloom, but said it was "vili fabricata

opere."[1] So badly, indeed, was it constructed that the whole of the south-eastern angle fell down fifty-eight years after its completion (A.D. 747), and when that was repaired, it tumbled down again thirty years afterwards.[2] In both these cases the historian excuses the architect by throwing the blame on an earthquake. The shock, however, must have been very slight and extended over a very limited area, as it has not caused a crack or any perceptible damage to either the Dome of the Rock or the Golden Gateway, which, except in Jerusalem, would have been equally exposed to its violence.



74.—MOSQUE EL AKSA. (From a plan by Mr. Catherwood.)

The greatest damage, most probably, was done by the Knights Templar, who took their name from their adopting this mosque as a residence and stable, and were not at all likely to respect or spare a building that professed to be either the accursed Temple of the Jews or the place of prayer of their Paynim foes. But be this as it may, it is certain that the principal repairs which the Aksa has undergone were executed after the destruction of the neighbouring buildings erected by Justinian. The two pillars drawn by De Vogüé, plate xxxii.—one of which may be one of the two described

[1] *Ante*, page 192.

[1] Sauvaire's translation of Mejr ed Dîn, pp. 59, 60.

by Procopius as adorning the portal of the church — certainly were, at all events, executed in the age of Justinian, and as certainly belonged to some building of his. It is at the south end of the mosque, however, that capitals and pillars of Justinian's age, or copied from his style, are most frequent (woodcut No. 56), and which, if his, could, consequently, only have been placed there either in the tenth or eleventh century, or after the Crusades. Unfortunately we do not know when Justinian's great establishment was broken up. We have no complaint, however, of any destruction of any Christian buildings in Jerusalem anterior to the time of Moez, 969 A.D. It certainly was in its glory when the monk Bernhard visited the place, 870 A.D.[1] His description of it is so nearly identical with that of Antoninus[2] that there can be no doubt that they are describing the same building, and as little that the latter, at least, is speaking of those just erected by Justinian. It may, however, have been one of the first to suffer in the persecution that set in at the end of the following century.

Another evidence of the existence of Justinian's church contemporaneously with the Aksa is derived from the statistical account of the clergy of Jerusalem, compiled in A.D. 808, and published by Tobler, in his valuable collection of tracts relating to this subject.[3] At that time this church seems to have ranked third among the ecclesiastical establishments in Jerusalem.[4] Curiously enough, it still bore, in the ninth century, the epithet of "New," which Procopius tells us was applied to it in the sixth. Whether the various places mentioned in the text were chapels in this establishment, or separate places of worship, is not quite clear. My impression is that they were chapels of this one church.

Some may have been induced to give a hasty assent to the idea of the Aksa being Justinian's church from a cursory inspection of the plan, and from the idea generally entertained, that a building with a central and side aisles, and a clerestory over the central one, can only be a church. In the first place, however, there is now, at least, no clerestory. The two ranges of windows shown in De Vogüé's plate xxxi. are mere niches, and do not open to the exterior, while some, at least, of the side aisles have been added long after the original building was complete. It is, indeed, extremely difficult to say what the original plan of the building may have been, but one thing, probably, must be admitted, that, if Justinian had built it, he would not have turned the apse to the south. It is quite true that Eastern orientation was not, in early times, the absolute law it has become now on this side of the Alps; but when nothing interfered, it certainly was usual,[5] especially in the Eastern Church; and

[1] Tobler's edit. p. 91.

[2] Ant. Mart., Tobler's edit. p. 25.

[3] Descriptiones Terræ Sanctæ ex sœculo VIII, IX, XII et XV, pp. 77 *et seqq.*

[4] "In Sancta Maria Nova, quam Justinianus imperator extruxit XII, in sancto Thalelæo I, in Sancto Gregorio II, in Sancta Maria ubi nata fuit in probatica V, inclusæ Deo sacratæ XXV." Tobler, Descript. p. 78.

[5] Paulinus of Nola, in the very beginning of the fifth century, apologises for the church not being turned to the east, "ut mos usitatior est" (Paulini Nolæ Epist. XII ad Severum).

as nothing prevented its being adopted here, there is little doubt that the apse would have been turned to the east, had the Aksa originally been a Christian church. Besides this, the fact must not be overlooked that the Arabs had no architecture of their own, and, wherever they went, were dependent on the natives of the countries they spread over, not only for the construction, but for the plans, of their edifices. Even as late as the thirteenth century (605 H.) we find them, in India, forced to employ Hindu builders to erect their mosques, and in the first century of the Hegira they were entirely dependent on Byzantine architects for any designs they might wish to carry out. But it is useless pursuing this line of argument further here. Those who believe that Justinian erected his Mary Church within the precincts of the Temple of the Jews will believe anything, and certainly will not be turned from their faith by any architectural or archæological arguments that may be addressed to them.

CONCLUSION.

Although the plates and woodcuts in the text of this work may, when carefully studied, be sufficient to explain the plans of the various buildings described in the preceding pages, it may add to the clearness of the narrative if the whole of the later ones are grouped together as shown in Plate VII., so that their relative positions and importance may be seized at a glance. The position and dimensions of the area of the Temple as enlarged by Herod is, of course, the foundation of the whole. If it was either greater or smaller than here shown, or occupied any other portion of the Haram area, the whole argument falls to the ground; but enough has, I believe, been said to prove that point beyond dispute. Though not quite so certain, or so well defined, the position and dimensions of the Temple fortress—the Antonia—seem to have been very nearly what they are represented in the plan. Beyond that, any remains of ancient masonry that may exist on the west side of the Haram area certainly belonged to the second wall, which, at the time of the Crucifixion, was the external wall of the town. It extended northward from the Antonia to some point of the present wall, eastward of the Damascus Gate, near which its junction, probably, might be found, if looked for. That gate certainly belonged to it, and the arch of the "Ecce Homo" now, probably, occupies the position of one of its ancient gates. The first-named has been rebuilt by the Saracens; the second, probably, in the time of Hadrian, when the Romans were too strong to require the walls any longer for defence, and used them more for fiscal or police purposes; or it may be that, after the building of the third wall by Agrippa, this gate became an inner gate, and was rebuilt as we now see it merely as the "Temple Bar" of an inner ward.

All the space eastward of the second wall, northward from the Temple, and extending down to the brook Kidron, was, if I am not mistaken, the great cemetery of the people of Israel, from the time when they wrested the city from the Jebusites till its destruction by Titus. If this is so, the relative positions of the Anastasis, the Basilica, and the Church of Golgotha, are easily understood, and all the events of the Passion they were erected to commemorate can be followed without difficulty or hesitation.

This being so, the reason also becomes perfectly plain why Justinian chose the south-eastern angle of the Haram area for the erection of the fourth great church which completed the Christian establishments of Jerusalem during

the Middle Ages. But more than all this, Plate VII. enables us to understand without difficulty the events that followed on the capitulation of the city to the khalif Omar in the seventh century. The site of the Temple had been left desolate, and the Altar-stone covered with filth. But when Omar had prayed on the steps of the Basilica of Constantine, he was led out by the Golden Gateway, round to the Huldah or Water Gate, and, penetrating by it, he found the true Sakhra, which the Moslems worshipped till they inherited the building Constantine had erected over the greater Sakhra, which he believed to cover the sepulchre of Christ.

Whether looked at from an historical, a topographical, or an archæological point of view, the arrangement of the various buildings in all their successive changes shown in this plate seems to me so consistent, and so easily intelligible, that it is difficult to understand their being considered doubtful. On the other hand, no other scheme, so far as I know, meets or even pretends to meet the exigencies of the case in anything like the same fulness.

In addition to the considerations of an historical or a topographical nature, there is still one of an artistic character, which can hardly be too often or too strongly insisted upon, and to which it may be as well again to allude to before concluding. It is the extreme beauty both of the design and decoration of the Dome of the Rock as compared with the total absence of these characteristics in the Aksa. The difference is curiously illustrative of the history of art, and has never, so far as I know, been sufficiently insisted upon by writers on Jerusalem.

Even now, notwithstanding recent discoveries, we have very little means of forming correct views of what the external appearance of the Dome of the Rock may have been when first erected. The lower casing of marble is certainly part of the original design, though a good deal damaged by modern repairs and alterations, and by the insertion of fragments from other buildings.

The upper arcade is, also, certainly part of the original design; but how the intermediate storey was adorned is not so clear. We ought not, however, to expect much, as it was by no means the fashion to adorn the exterior of Christian buildings to any great extent in Constantine's time. In order, apparently, to distinguish them from Pagan buildings of the same class, all their wealth of ornament was lavished on their interiors, leaving the outside comparatively plain, and a simple façade of ashlar work may consequently have been all that was originally designed.

Unlike the confused patchwork of the Aksa, few buildings have been so little altered internally as the Dome of the Rock, and its effect must have been, when first erected, very much what it is now. The one great change has been the introduction of those beautiful windows of Persian stained glass in the sixteenth century. They are beautiful works of art in themselves, and, by subduing the light, add very much to the solemn effect of the interior. The

windows may, however, have been originally filled with pierced marble slabs, like those drawn in De Vogüé's 'Syrie Centrale' (plates 13 and 14), or those figured by Nesbitt on plates xi.–xiv. of the 40th volume of the 'Archæologia.' These last are admirably adapted, especially plates xiii. and xiv., to subdue the light sufficiently, while the white light so introduced would be more favourable, to the effect of the mosaics, than the coloured light of the present windows, and would have displayed the richness of the *verde antique* and other marble columns to more advantage than is now possible. It is not, however, only to mosaics and marbles that this interior owes its effect, but to the exquisite proportions of the parts, and to the mode in which the whole design is so admirably adapted to its one purpose of fixing the attention on the Sacred rock and its Holy cave, and of proclaiming in the most unmistakable manner that it was to honour them that it was erected.

As before stated, except the Taje Mahal and one or two of the great Indian sepulchres, I know of no tomb or tomblike building in the whole world that can compare in beauty of proportion, or in solemnity of effect, with this, the earliest effort of purely Christian architectural art.

When from this beautiful building we turn to the Aksa, we find a totally different state of things — a heterogeneous mass of incongruous parts thrown together without either elegance of proportion or beauty of detail, making up a structure of a totally dissimilar class, and belonging certainly to quite a different age from the beautiful octagon in its immediate proximity. It is a curious fact that in none of the various rebuildings of the Aksa do the Saracens seem to have introduced any of those exquisite details which are found in all their mosques at Cairo or Damascus. The finest part of the building is undoubtedly the northern façade and porch, but this was added after the Crusades, and its lines are not carried round on either flank. The present dome, too, seems a comparatively modern addition, and though the same is true of that over the Rock, this is very inferior to that one either in extent or in beauty of outline.

It may of course be difficult for those who have never visited Jerusalem to realise the differences existing between these two buildings, especially as the Aksa has never been properly illustrated. De Vogüé's work, and Karl Haag's and Karl Werner's drawings, have made the features of the Dome of the Rock familiar to the public; but no artist would waste his time on such a building as the Aksa. De Vogüé gives only two sections (plate xxxi.), and these on so small a scale as not to convey any real idea of the style. In my 'Ancient Topography of Jerusalem' I have given views of the interiors of both, which are sufficient for the purpose (*ante*, woodcuts Nos. 55 and 56); but from the fact of their being engraved in different styles, the comparison is not so obvious as it might have been made if both had been either line engraving or both mezzotints. There are, however, two photographs of these interiors

published by the Palestine Exploration Fund, which are easily procurable, and the examination of which ought to satisfy any one that the buildings are neither in the same style nor of the same age; and if this is so, all the myths about their being both built by Abd-el-Malek fall at once to the ground, even if there were not such a complete catena of written evidence to establish how utterly untenable any such hypothesis can be proved to be.

Nothing has been said in the preceding pages regarding the so-called Holy Sepulchre in the town, for the simple reason that, if I am right in supposing it proved that the four great churches of Jerusalem originally stood in the Haram area, this church is a convicted forgery. This has, indeed, been suspected by many of the best topographers of Jerusalem, from the days of Korte[1] downwards, owing to the impossibility of reconciling the situation with the facts as narrated by the Evangelists; but the argument has hitherto generally failed to carry conviction to most minds, from the inability of those who maintained it to provide a substitute. Now, however, that it can be proved to demonstration that the Dome of the Rock is the building which Constantine built over what he, at all events, believed to be the sepulchre of Christ—*cadit quæstio*—Constantine did not build two sepulchres in Jerusalem. A choice must consequently be made; and when the subject is honestly and fairly approached, there is little doubt that most people will select that one which accords with every word of the Bible narrative, in preference to the other, with which the events of the Passion, as narrated by the Evangelists, cannot possibly be reconciled.

During the last thirty years, nothing has occurred to throw any fresh light on the subject of the transference of the Holy Sepulchre, from the eastern to the western hill. There is therefore little or nothing to be added to what was stated at length in the third part of 'The Ancient Topography of Jerusalem' (pp. 156, 187). The principal facts connected with this transaction were then clear, as they are now. There is no complaint anywhere, before the time of El-Hakim, the mad khalif of Egypt, of the Saracens having been guilty of any infraction of the treaty made by the khalif Omar with the patriarch Sophronius. He, in A.D. 1009, destroyed the Basilica of Constantine—"solo co-æquavit"—and appropriated the tomb of Christ to the purposes of his own religion, as is abundantly confirmed by the Kufic inscription afterwards added, in mosaic, on its walls by one of his successors. At the time that El-Hakim committed this outrage on their holy places, he expelled the Christian inhabitants from Jerusalem, and allowed them no access to the place during his lifetime. When they crept back after his death, they naturally built for their own purposes a church in their own quarter of the town, and erected therein a Sepulchre at which the Easter rites might be

[1] Jonas Kortens Reise nach dem Gelobten Lande, &c., Altona, 1741–48.

performed. As time wore on, this became, as a matter of course, the Sepulchre of Christ at Jerusalem, and pilgrims made their offerings, and had their faith strengthened by worshipping at this shrine. Besides being securely situated in their own quarter of the town, the spot selected for the new church had the further advantage of being in the immediate proximity of a group of ancient Jewish graves[1] still existing there, which gave apparent authenticity to the tradition that the "Tegurium" they had erected was really nigh to the "place of a skull."

In addition to these advantages, the arrangements of the new church were, according to the ideas then prevalent, in many respects superior to those of the old group. It united under one roof, besides the place of Crucifixion and the Holy Sepulchre, all the localities of the Passion described by the Evangelists, and had —what was an almost indispensable adjunct to a sacred locality in Palestine— a cave in which the Cross was found in some mysterious manner by Holy Helena. It had also a choir and apse turned towards the east, which, in the eyes of mediæval churchmen, was a very superior arrangement to that of the Basilica of Constantine with its western hemicycle.

With all these advantages, it is little to be wondered at that the Christian inhabitants of Jerusalem willingly accommodated themselves to the new locality, and that pilgrims in the eleventh century were easily persuaded that the localities pointed out to them were really those in which the scenes of the Passion had actually been enacted. Ninety years had elapsed since the destruction of Constantine's Basilica by El-Hakim before these Western pilgrims came back, with arms in their hands, to rescue from the hands of the infidels, the Sepulchre where they had worshipped. At that time, no one was living in Jerusalem who could have remembered the buildings in the Haram being in the possession of the Christians, and they and their fathers had always worshipped in the church in the town. In the illiterate East, memory soon fades, and the growth of tradition is much more rapid than in the soberer West. The time was therefore ample for the obliteration of the knowledge of the true facts of the case in so far as the general public were concerned; nor should we feel surprised or indignant at the conduct of the priests, or of those who knew the truth, on this occasion. They acted in precisely the same manner, and were actuated by the same motives, as nine-tenths of those who have taken up the controversy in the nineteenth century, and who think that the faith of the multitude must be protected against the inopportune suggestions of scientific investigations.

Notwithstanding its being a counterfeit, if the sepulchre in the city possessed any beauty of design or detail, or any evidence of antiquity, it might have been useful to introduce it in an illustration of some things,

[1] Described by M. Ganneau, in the Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund for April 1877, and by Major Wilson, in the July number of the same publication of that year.

or as a means of comparison. But it has nothing of the sort. On its southern façade there is a Corinthian cornice, used unsymmetrically as a string course, and evidently borrowed from the ruins of the Basilica of Constantine after it was destroyed by El-Hakim in the beginning of the eleventh century. In the interior there are one or two capitals borrowed in like manner from the buildings of Justinian after their destruction, probably, about or before the same time. Beyond this, everything is avowedly subsequent to the age of the Crusades, and not good of its kind even then; and what little merit it may have had was wiped out by the fire of 1808, when the present modern abomination was substituted, in the rotunda, for what had the respectable antiquity of seven centuries, though this, even then, was less than half of that of the Dome of the Rock.

To all this it is needless to revert again after all that has been said above. So long as the Dome of the Rock and the Golden Gateway remain, the latter more especially, as a festal portal of the age of Constantine, every one who desires truth, and truth only, must admit that it was on the eastern hill that the sepulchre was situated, in the words of Eusebius:—"On the very spot which witnessed the Saviour's sufferings, a new Jerusalem was conconstructed *over against* the one so celebrated of old, which since the foul stain of guilt brought upon it by the murder of the Lord had experienced the extremity of desolation, the effect of divine judgment on its impious people. It was *opposite to* that city that the Emperor began to rear a monument to the Saviour's victory over death, with rich and lavish magnificence."[1] And there it stands now, and there any one may see it who cares to realise how nobly Constantine fulfilled the pious aspirations he had conceived.

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[1] Κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ σωτήριον μαρτύριον ἡ νέα κατεσκευάζετο. Ἱερουσαλήμ; ἀντιπρόσωπος τῇ πάλαι βοωμένῃ, ἣ μετὰ τὴν κυριοκτόνον μιαιφονίαν ἐρημίας ἐπ' ἔσχατα περιτραπεῖσα, δίκην ἔτισε δυσσεβῶν οἰκητόρων. Ταύτῃ δ' οὖν ἄντικρυς βασιλεὺς τὴν κατα τοῦ θανάτου σωτήριον νίκην πλουσίαις καὶ δαψιλέσιν ἀνύψου φιλοτιμίαις. Vita Constantini, iii. 33.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

THE MIDDOTH.[1]

Measurements of the Temple.

Chapter I.

1. The priests guarded the Sanctuary in three places, in the House Abtinas,[2] in the House Nitzus,[3] and in the House Moked;[4] and the Levites in twenty-one places, five at the five gates of the Mountain of the House, four at its four corners inside, five at the five gates of the Court, four at its four corners outside, and one in the chamber of the Offering, and one in the chamber of the Vail, and one behind the House of Atonement.

2. The captain of the Mountain of the House went round to every watch in succession with torches flaming before him, and to every guard who did not stand forth, the captain said, "Peace be to thee." If it appeared that he slept, he beat him with his staff; and he had permission to set fire to his cushion.[5] And they said, "what is the voice in the Court?" "It is the voice of the Levite being beaten, and his garments burned, because he slept on his guard."[6] Rabbi Eleazer, the son of Jacob, said, "once they found the brother of my mother asleep, and they burned his cushion."

3. There were five gates to the Mountain of the House, two Huldah gates in the south which served for going in and out, Kipunus in the west served for going in and out; Tadi[7] in the north served for no (ordinary) purpose. Upon the east gate was portrayed the city Shushan. Through it one could see the High Priest who burned the heifer, and all his assistants going out to the Mount of Olives.

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[1] Printed, with his kind permission, from the Rev. Dr. Barclay's work on the Talmud just published by Mr. Murray. The Hebrew words in italics and in brackets have been inserted by me for convenience of reference, as they are quoted in the text.—Jas. F.

[2] A famous maker of incense.

[3] Sparkling.

[4] Burning. The watch at certain gates seems to have been hereditary in certain families. Just as at the present time the custody of Rachel's tomb is the privilege of a certain family in Jerusalem. Each guard consisted of 10 men, so that there were 210 Levites in the 21 stations. The three more important places contained guards of both Levites and Priests; 30 of each. There were therefore 240 Levites on guard each night.

[5] He rolled up his overcoat and laid it down for a cushion.

[6] Rev. xvi. 15.

[7] Obscurity.

4. In the court were seven gates—three in the north, and three in the south, and one in the east. That in the south was called the gate of Flaming, the second after it, the gate of Offering; the third after it the Water-gate. That in the east was called the gate Nicanor. And this gate had two chambers, one on the right, and one on the left; one the chamber of Phineas, the vestment keeper, and the other the chamber of the pancake maker.

5. And at the gate Nitzus on the north was a kind of cloister with a room [*Alijah*] built over it, where the priests kept ward above, and the Levites below; and it had a door into the Chel.[1] Second to it was the gate of the offering. Third the House Moked.

6. In the House Moked were four chambers opening as small apartments into a saloon —two in the Holy place, and two in the Unconsecrated place; and pointed rails separated between the Holy and the Unconsecrated. And what was their use? The south-west chamber was the chamber for offering. The south-east was the chamber for the shew-bread. In the north-east chamber the children of the Asmoneans deposited the stones of the altar which the Greek Kings had defiled.[2] In the north-west chamber they descended to the house of baptism.

7. To the House Moked were two doors; one open to the Chel, and one open to the court. Said Rabbi Judah, "the one open to the court had a wicket, through which they went in to sweep the court."

8. The House Moked was arched, and spacious, and surrounded with stone divans, and the elders of the Courses slept there with the keys of the court in their hands; and the young priests each with his pillow on the ground.

9. And there was a place a cubit square with a tablet of marble, and to it was fastened a ring, and a chain upon which the keys were suspended. When the time approached for locking, the priest lifted up the tablet by the ring, and took the keys from the chain and locked inside, and the Levites slept outside. When he had finished locking, he returned the keys to the chain, and the tablet to its place, laid his pillow over it, and fell asleep. If sudden defilement happened, he rose and went out in the gallery that ran under the arch, and candles flamed on either side, until he came to the house of baptism. Rabbi Eleazer, the son of Jacob, says, "in the gallery that went under the Chel, he passed out through Tadi."

OUR BEAUTY BE UPON THEE IN THREE PLACES.

Chapter II.

1. The Mountain of the House was five hundred cubits square. The largest space was on the south, the second on the east, the third on the north, and the least westward. In the place largest in measurement was held most service.

2. All who entered the Mountain of the House entered on the right-hand side, and went round, and passed out on the left: except to whomsoever an accident occurred, he turned to the left. "Why do you go to the left?" "I am in mourning." "He that dwelleth in this House comfort thee." "I am excommunicate." "He that dwelleth in this House put in thy heart (repentance), and they shall receive thee." The words of Rabbi Mayer.

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[1] Platform or rampart. [2] 1 Macc. ii. 25.

To him said Rabbi José, "thou hast acted as though they had transgressed against him in judgment; but, may He that dwelleth in this House put in thy heart that thou hearken to the words of thy neighbours, and they shall receive thee."

3. Inside of the (Mountain of the House) was a reticulated wall, ten hand-breadths high [*Soreg*]; and in it were thirteen breaches, broken down by the Greek kings. The (Jews) restored, and fenced them, and decreed before them thirteen acts of obeisance. Inside of it was the Chel, ten cubits broad, and twelve steps were there. The height of each step was half a cubit, and the breadth half a cubit. All the steps there were in height half a cubit, and in breadth half a cubit, except those of the porch. All the doors there were in height twenty cubits, and in breadth ten cubits, except that of the porch. All the gateways there had doors, except that of the porch. All the gates there had lintels, except Tadi; there two stones inclined one upon the other. All the gates there were transformed into gold, except the gate Nicanor,[1] because to it happened a wonder, though some said, "because its brass glittered like gold."

4. And all the walls there were high, except the eastern wall, that the priest who burned the heifer, might stand on the top of the Mount of Olives, and look straight into the door of the Sanctuary when he sprinkled the blood.

5. The court of the women was one hundred and thirty-five cubits in length, by one hundred and thirty-five in breadth. And in its four corners were four chambers, each forty cubits square, and they had no roofs; and so they will be in future, as is said, "Then he brought me forth into the utter court, and caused me to pass by the four corners of the court; and, behold, in every corner of the court there was a court."[2] In the four corners of the court there were courts smoking, yet not smoking, since they were roofless. And what was their use? The south-east one was the chamber of the Nazarites, for there the Nazarites cooked their peace-offerings, and polled their hair, and cast it under the pot. The north-east was the chamber for the wood, and there the priests with blemishes gathered out the worm-eaten wood. And every stick in which a worm was found, was unlawful for the altar. The north-west was the chamber for the lepers. The south-west? Rabbi Eleazer, the son of Jacob, said, "I forget for what it served." Abashaul said, "there they put wine, and oil." It was called the chamber of the house of oil. And it was open at first and surrounded with lattice work, that the women might see from above and the men from beneath, lest they should be mixed. And fifteen steps, corresponding to the fifteen steps in the Psalms, ascended from it to the court of Israel; upon them the Levites chanted. They were not angular, but deflected like the half of a round threshing-floor.

6. And under the court of Israel were chambers open to the court of the women. There the Levites deposited their harps, and psalteries, and cymbals, and all instruments of music. The court of Israel was one hundred and thirty-five cubits long, and eleven broad; and likewise the court of the priests was one hundred and thirty-five cubits long, and eleven broad. And pointed rails separated the court of Israel from the court of the priests. Rabbi Eleazer, the son of Jacob, said, "there was a step a cubit high, and a dais [*Dukan*] placed over it. And in it were three steps each half a cubit in height." We find that the priests' court was two cubits and a half higher than the court of Israel. The whole court was one hundred and eighty-seven cubits in length, and one hundred and thirty-five

[1] So called either because Nicanor, a Pharisee, had the gate made in Alexandria, and though it was thrown overboard from a ship in a storm, it yet came safe to land: or because Nicanor, a Greek prince, was slain there in the time of the Asmoneans.

[2] Ezekiel xlvi. 21.

cubits in breadth, and the thirteen places for bowing were there. Abajose, the son of Chanan, said, "in front of the thirteen gates." In the south near to the west were the upper gate, the gate of flaming, the gate of the firstborn, the water gate. And why is it called the water gate? Because through it they bring bottles of water for pouring out during the feast of Tabernacles. Rabbi Eleazer, the son of Jacob, said, "through it the water returned out, and in future it will issue from under the threshold of the house." And opposite them in the north, near to the west, the gate of Jochania, the gate of the offering, the gate of the women, the gate of music. And "why was it called the gate of Jochania?" "Because through it Jochania went out in his captivity." In the east was the gate Nicanor, and in it two wickets, one on the right, and one on the left, and two in the west which were nameless.

OUR BEAUTY BE UPON THEE, O MOUNTAIN OF THE HOUSE.

Chapter III.

1. The altar was thirty-two cubits square. It ascended a cubit, and receded a cubit. This was the foundation. It remains thirty cubits square. It ascended five cubits, and receded one cubit. This is the circumference. It remains twenty-eight cubits square. The place for the horns was a cubit on either side. It remains twenty-six cubits square. The place of the path for the feet of the priests was a cubit on each side. The hearth remains twenty-four cubits square. Rabbi José said, "at first it was only twenty-eight cubits square." It receded and ascended until the hearth remained twenty cubits square; but when the children of the captivity came up, they added to it four cubits en the north, and four cubits on the west, like a gamma it is said; and the altar was twelve cubits long by twelve broad, being a square. One could say it was only "a square of twelve"[1] as is said. Upon its four sides we learn that it measured from the middle twelve cubits to every side. And a line of red paint girdled it in the midst to separate the blood sprinkled above from the blood sprinkled below. And the foundation was a perfect walk along on the north side; and all along on the west, but it wanted in the south one cubit, and in the east one cubit.[2]

2. And in the south-western corner were two holes as two thin nostrils, that the blood poured upon the western and southern foundation should run into them; and it commingled in a canal and flowed out into the Kidron.

3. Below in the plaster in the same corner there was a place a cubit square, with a marble tablet, and a ring fastened in it. Through it they descended to the sewer and cleansed it. And there was a sloping ascent[3] to the south of the altar, thirty-two cubits long by sixteen broad. In its western side was a closet, where they put the birds unmeet for the sin-offering.

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[1] Ezekiel xliii. 16.

[2] As this corner would have been in the tribe of Judah, it was not added, that the whole altar might remain in the tribe of Benjamin. Gen. xlix. 27.

[3] This sloping ascent to the altar was strewn with salt. This salt was brought from the mountain of Sodom at the south of the Dead Sea. The salt was intended to keep the priests from slipping and falling, which might easily happen, as they were obliged to minister barefooted. The coldness of the pavement in winter, and eating so much flesh of the sacrifices, brought various diseases on the priests.

4. Either the stones of the sloping ascent, or the stones of the altar, were from the valley of Bethcerem.[1] And they digged deeper than virgin soil, and brought from thence perfect stones over which iron[2] was not waved. For the iron defiles by touching. And a scratch defiles everything. In any of them a scratch defiled, but the others were lawful. And they whitewashed them twice in the year; once at the passover, and once at the feast of Tabernacles. And the Sanctuary (was whitewashed) once at the passover. The Rabbi said, "every Friday evening they whitewashed them with a mop on account of the blood." They did not plaster it with an iron trowel, "mayhap it will touch and defile." Since iron is made to shorten the days of man, and the altar is made to lengthen the days of man, it is not lawful, that what shortens should be waved over what lengthens.

5. And there were rings to the northern side of the altar, six rows of four each: though some say four rows of each. Upon them they slaughtered the holy beasts. The slaughter-house was at the north side of the altar. And in it were eight dwarf pillars with a beam of cedar wood over them. And in them were fastened iron hooks—three rows to each pillar. Upon them they hung up (the bodies), and skinned them upon marble tables between the pillars.

6. The laver was between the porch and the altar, but inclined more to the south. Between the porch and the altar were twenty-two cubits, and there were twelve steps. The height of each step was half a cubit, and its breadth a cubit—a cubit—a cubit—a landing three cubits—a cubit—a cubit and a landing three cubits. And the upper one a cubit—a cubit, and the landing four cubits. Rabbi Jehudah said, "the upper a cubit,—a cubit, and the landing five cubits."

7. The doorway of the porch was forty cubits high, and twenty broad. Over it were five carved oak beams. The lower one extended beyond the doorway a cubit on either side. The one over it extended a cubit on either side. It results that the uppermost was thirty cubits; and between each one there was a row of stones.

8. And stone buttresses[3] were joined from the wall of the sanctuary to the wall of the porch, lest it should bulge. And in the roof of the porch were fastened golden chains, upon which the young priests climbed up, and saw the crowns. As is said, "And the crowns shall be to Helem, and to Tobijah, and to Jedaiah, and to Hen, the son of Zephaniah, for a memorial in the temple of the Lord."[4] And over the doorway of the Sanctuary was a golden vine supported upon the buttresses. Every one who vowed a leaf, or a berry, or a cluster, he brought it and hung it upon it. Said Rabbi Eleazer, the son of Zadok, "it is a fact, and there were numbered three hundred priests to keep it clear."

OUR BEAUTY BE UPON THEE, O ALTAR.

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[1] House of the vineyard.

[2] Deut. xxvii. 5.

[3] "*Malteraoth shel milah. Malterah* or *ammaltera*, from the Greek μέλαθρον; *milah*, the Greek *melia*." Note from the Rev. Dr. Edersheim's Jewish Social Life, p. 304; but most important if the identity of the Hebrew and Greek words can be maintained; which, however, I see no reason for doubting. Although there were four at least of these *melathra* in Herod's screen, and only one in Solomon's, still the fact of their existing in both goes far to justify the restorations shadowed out in woodcut No. 35.—Jas. F.

[4] Zechariah vi. 14.

Chapter IV.

1. The doorway of the Sanctuary[1] was twenty cubits in height, and ten in breadth. And it had four doors, two within and two without, as is said, "Two doors to the temple and the holy place."[2] The outside (doors) opened into the doorway to cover the thickness of the wall, and the inside doors opened into the Sanctuary to cover (the space) behind the doors, because the whole house was overlaid with gold excepting behind the doors. Rabbi Judah said, "they stood in the middle of the doorway, and like a pivot these folded behind them two cubits and a half; and of those two cubits and a half, half a cubit and a jamb on this side, and half a cubit and a jamb on the other side." It is said, "two doors to two doors folding back, two leaves to one door and two leaves to the other."[3]

2. And the great gate had two wickets, one in the north, and one in the south. Through the one in the south no man ever entered. And with regard to it Ezekiel declared, as is said, "The Lord said unto me; this gate shall be shut, it shall not be opened, and no man shall enter in by it; because the Lord, the God of Israel, hath entered in by it, therefore it shall be shut."[4] The priest took the key, and opened the wicket, and went into the little chamber, and from the chamber to the Sanctuary. Rabbi Judah, "he went in the thickness of the wall, until he found himself standing between the two gates, and he opened the outside gates from inside, and the inside from outside."

3. And there were thirty-eight little chambers, fifteen in the north, fifteen in the south, and eight in the west. The northern and southern ones were (placed) five over five, and five over them; and in the west three over three, and two over them. To each were three doors: one to the little chamber to the right, one to the little chamber to the left, and one to the little chamber over it. And in the north-eastern corner were five gates: one to the little chamber on the right, and one to the little chamber over it, and one to the gallery, and one to the wicket, and one to the Sanctuary.

4. The lowest row was five cubits, and the roofing six cubits, and the midle row six, and the roofing seven, and the upper was seven, as is said, "the nethermost chamber was five cubits broad, and the middle six cubits broad, and the third seven cubits broad."[5]

5. And a gallery (winding stair) ascended from the north-eastern corner to the south-western corner. Through it they went up to the roofs of the little chambers. One went up in the gallery with his face to the west. So he proceeded all along the northern side, till he reached the west. On reaching the west, he turned his face southward, going along the west side, till he reached the south. On reaching the south, with his face to the east, he went along the south side till he arrived at the door of the upper storey [*Alijah*], because the door of the upper storey [*Alijah*] opened in the south side. And at the door of the upper storey [*Alijah*] were two cedar beams. By them they went up to the roof of the upper storey [*Alijah*], and on its summit rails separated between the Holy and the Holy of Holies. And in the attic [*Alijah*] trapdoors opened to the Holy of Holies. Through them they let down the workmen in boxes, lest they should feast their eyes in the Holy of Holies.

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[1] The Rabbis say that "the world is like an eye. The ocean is the white of the eye. The pupil is Jerusalem. And the image in the pupil is the Sanctuary."

[2] Ezekiel xli. 23.

[3] Ezekiel xli. 24.

[4] Ezekiel xliv. 2.

[5] 1 Kings vi. 6.

6. The Sanctuary was a square of one hundred cubits, and its height one hundred. The foundation six cubits, and the height (of the wall) forty cubits, and the string course [1] one cubit, and the rain channel two cubits, and the beams one cubit, and the covering plaster one cubit; and the height of the upper storey [*Alijah*] was forty cubits, and the string course one cubit, and the rain channel two cubits, and the beams one cubit, and the covering plaster one cubit, and the battlement three cubits, and the scarecrow one cubit. Rabbi Judah said, "the scarecrow was not counted in the measurement; but the battlement was four cubits."

7. From east to west was one hundred cubits, the wall of the porch five, and the porch eleven, and the wall of the Sanctuary six, and the interior forty, and the partition space (between the Vails) one, and the Holy of Holies twenty cubits. The wall of the Sanctuary was six, and the little chamber six, and the wall of the little chamber five. From north to south was seventy (cubits). The wall of the gallery five, the gallery three, the wall of the little chamber five, the little chamber six, the wall of the Sanctuary six, its interior twenty, the wall of the Sanctuary six, the little chamber six, the wall of the little chamber five, the place for the descent of the water three, and the wall five cubits. The porch was extended beyond it fifteen cubits in the north, and fifteen in the south; and this space was called "the house of the instruments of slaughter," because the knives were there deposited. And the Sanctuary was narrow behind and broad in front, and it was like a lion, as is said, "Ho! Ariel, the city where David dwelt,[2] as a lion is narrow behind and broad in front, so the Sanctuary is narrow behind and broad in front."

OUR BEAUTY BE UPON THEE, DOOR OF THE SANCTUARY.

Chapter V.

1. The length of the whole court[3] was one hundred and eighty-seven cubits. The breadth one hundred and thirty-five. From east to west one hundred and eighty-seven. The place for the tread of the feet of Israel was eleven cubits. The place for the tread of the priests eleven cubits. The altar thirty-two. Between the porch and the altar twenty-two cubits. The Temple one hundred cubits; and eleven cubits behind the House of Atonement.

2. From north to south, one hundred and thirty-five cubits. From the sloping ascent to the altar sixty-two. From the altar to the rings eight cubits. The space for the rings twenty-four. From the rings to the tables four. From the tables to the pillars four. From the pillars to the wall of the court eight cubits. And the remainder lay between the sloping ascent and the wall and the place of the pillars.

3. In the court were six chambers, three in the north, and three in the south. In the north, the chamber of salt, the chamber of Parva, the chamber of washers. In the chamber of salt they added salt to the offering. In the chamber of Parva they salted the skins

[1] Curiously graven and gilt.

[2] Isaiah xxix. 1.

[3] "The king only, and no man else" (remarks Maimonides) "might sit in the court of the temple in any place; and even this privilege was confined to a king of the family of David." Cunæus further observes, "that the king was esteemed nearer to God than the priests themselves, and a greater president of religion."

of the offering; and upon its roof was the house of baptism for the High Priest on the day of atonement. In the chamber of washers they cleansed the inwards of the offerings; and from thence a gallery extended up to the top of the house of Parva.

4. In the south were the chamber of wood, the chamber of the captivity, and the chamber of hewn stone [*Gazith*]. The chamber of wood, said Rabbi Eleazer, the son of Jacob, "I forget for what it served." Abashaul said, "the chamber of the High Priest was behind them both, and the roof of the three was even. In the chamber of the captivity was sunk the well with the wheel attached to it, and from thence water was supplied to the whole court. In the chamber of hewn stone [*Gazith*] the great sanhedrin of Israel sat, and judged the priesthood, and the priest in whom defilement was discovered, clothed in black, and veiled in black, went out and departed; and when no defilement was found in him, clothed in white, and veiled in white, he went in and served with his brethren the priests. And they made a feast-day, because no defilement was found in the seed of Aaron the Priest, and thus they said, "Blessed be the place. Blessed be He, since no defilement is found in the seed of Aaron. And blessed be He who has chosen Aaron and his sons to stand and minister[1] before the Lord in the House of the Holy of Holies.

OUR BEAUTY BE UPON THEE, WHOLE COURT;

AND COMPLETION TO THEE, TRACT

MEASUREMENTS.

[1] The Temple services were arranged by the council of fourteen. This council was composed of the High Priest, the Sagan (the deputy or Suffragan of the High Priest), two Katholikin, who had charge of the treasuries, three Gizbarim, who were assistants of the Katholikin, and seven Ammarcalin, who had charge of the gates.

APPENDIX II.

TRANSLATION OF KUFIC INSCRIPTION IN THE DOME OF THE ROCK.

By E. H. Palmer, M.A.

(Quarterly Reports, Palestine Exploration Fund, 1870–71, pp. 164, 165.)

§ 6.—Mosaic Inscription in the Cubbet es Sakhrah.

The erection of the Cubbet es Sakhrah, Jám'i el Aksa, and the restoration of the temple area by 'Abd el Melik, are recorded in a magnificent Kufic inscription in mosaic, running round the colonnade of the first-mentioned building. The name of 'Abd el Melik has been purposely erased, and that of Abdallah el Mamún fraudulently substituted; but the short-sighted forger has omitted to erase the date, as well as the name of the original founder, and the inscription still remains a contemporary record of the munificence of 'Abd el Melik. The translation is as follows:—

"In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate! There is no god but God alone; He hath no partner; His is the kingdom, His the praise. He giveth life and death, for He is the Almighty. In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate! There is no god but God alone; He hath no partner; Mohammed is the Apostle of God; pray God for him. The servant of God, 'Abdallah, the Imám al Mamún [*read* 'Abd el Melik], Commander of the Faithful, built this dome in the year 72 (A.D. 691). May God accept it at his hands, and be content with him, Amen! The restoration is complete, and to God be the praise. In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate! There is no god but God alone; He hath no partner. Say He is the one God, the Eternal; He neither begetteth nor is begotten, and there is no one like Him. Mohammed is the Apostle of God; pray God for him. In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate! There is no god but God, and Mohammed is the Apostle of God; pray God for him. Verily, God and His angels pray for the Prophet. Oh, ye who believe, pray for him, and salute ye him with salutations of peace. In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate! There is no god, but God alone; to Him be praise, who taketh not unto Himself a son, and to whom none can be a partner in His kingdom, and whose patron no lower creature can be; magnify ye Him. Mohammed is the Apostle of God; pray God, and His angels, and apostles for him; and peace be upon him, and the mercy of God. In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate! There is no god but God alone; He hath no partner; His is the kingdom, and His the praise; He giveth life and death, for He is Almighty. Verily, God and His angels pray for the Prophet. Oh ye who believe, pray for him and salute him with salutations of peace. Oh! ye who have received the Scriptures, exceed not the bounds in your religion, and speak not aught but truth concerning God. Verily, Jesus Christ, the son of Mary, is the Apostle of God, and His word which He cast over Mary, and a spirit from Him. Then believe in God and His apostles, and do not say there are three gods;

forbear, and it will be better for you. God is but One. Far be it from Him that He should have a son. To Him belongeth whatsoever is in the heaven and in the earth, and God is a sufficient protector. Christ doth not disdain to be a servant of God, nor do the angels who are near the throne. Whosoever then disdains His service, and is puffed up with pride, God shall gather them all at the last day. O God, pray for Thy apostle Jesus, the son of Mary; peace be upon me the day I am born, and the day I die, and the day I am raised to life again. That is Jesus, the son of Mary, concerning whom ye doubt. It is not for God to take unto Himself a son; far be it from Him. If He decree a thing, He doth but say unto it, Be, and it is. God is my Lord and yours. Serve Him, this is the right way. Glory to God, there is no god but He, and the angels and beings endowed with knowledge, stand among the just. There is no God but He, the Mighty, the Wise. Verily, the true religion in the sight of God is Islám. Say praise be to God, who taketh not unto Himself a son; whose partner in the kingdom none can be; whose patron no lowly creature can be. Magnify ye Him!"[1]

[1] This inscription, which is composed chiefly of Coranic texts, is interesting both from a historical point of view, and as showing the spirit in which Christianity was regarded by the Muslims of these early times. It has never before been published in its entirety. Its preservation during the subsequent Christian occupation of the city may occasion some surprise, as the Latins (by whom the Cubbet es Sakhrah was turned into a church) could not but have been offended at quotations which so decidedly deny the Divinity of Christ and the doctrine of the Trinity. It is probable, however, that the Cufic character, in which it is written, was as unintelligible to the Christian natives of that time as it is now, even to most of the learned Muslims of the present day.

APPENDIX III.

TRANSLATION OF PARAGRAPH IN PROCOPIUS' 'DE ÆDIFICIIS.'

By the Rev. George Williams.[1]

(Holy City, vol. ii. pp. 369 *et seqq.*)

In Jerusalem, too, he dedicated a Temple to the Virgin, to which no other can be compared, and which is called by the natives, the "New Church." I will describe its character, after premising that the city is for the most part hilly. The hills however are not of earth, but rise up roughly and precipitously, with passages like a ladder, stretching from the steep to the descent.

Now it so happens, that all the other buildings of the city are on one kind of ground, being either built on the hill or on the level where the earth expands. But this Temple alone is not so placed. The reason is, that the Emperor Justinian ordered it to be built on the most prominent of the hills, with directions what character he required it to have generally, and what breadth and length. The hills however had not sufficient space for the completion of the work according to the Emperor's order; but a fourth part of the Temple was deficient, towards the South and the East, just where it is lawful for the priests to perform their rites. Hence, the following device was conceived by the persons who had charge of the work. They laid the foundations at the extreme of the flat ground, and raised a building with equal height with the rock. When, then, they had brought it as high as its extremity, they placed over the intervening space arches from the top of the walls, and connected the building with the remainder of the Temple's foundation. In this way the Temple is in part founded on solid rock, and in part suspended; the Emperor's power having contrived a space in addition to the hill.

The stones too of this building are not of such a size as we know elsewhere. For the workmen who had charge of the task, contending against the difficulty of the site, and labouring to gain a height equal and opposite to the rock, disdained all ordinary modes, and had recourse to strange and altogether unprecedented devices. They hewed therefore rocks of immense size from the mountains, which rise to an extraordinary height immediately before the city, and having carved them skilfully, carried them thence as follows. First, they made wagons of a size equal to the rocks, and placed a single stone in each wagon; when oxen, chosen by the Emperor's order for their excellence, drew the stone with the wagon, forty to each. Then, as it was impossible for the roads leading to the city to bear these great wagons, they cut out to a considerable extent the mountains, and made

[1] As there is no recognised translation of Procopius into English, I have borrowed that from Mr. Williams' work. As he is a firm believer in the identity of the Aksa with the Church of Justinian, his translation will not be suspected of any leaning towards my heretical views.—Jas. F.

a passage for the wagons, as they arrived. Thus they completed the Temple to an extraordinary length, according to the wishes of the Emperor.

They also made its breadth in proportion, but had the greatest difficulty to place a roof upon the Temple. They went round, therefore, all the woods and thickets, and whatever spot they could hear of as planted with trees of extraordinary height, until they found a shady wood producing cedars which reached ever so great a height. With these, then, they roofed the Temple, having raised its height equal in proportion to its width and length.

So much was accomplished by the Emperor Justinian by the means of human power and art. His pious confidence, however, which requited him with honour and co-operated in this effort, went further: That is to say, the Temple had need of columns all round, not inferior in appearance to the beauty of the precinct, and of such a size as might be likely to support the weight of the superstructure. The place, however, being situated inland, at a distance from the sea, and fenced off with abrupt mountains on all sides, as I have described, rendered it difficult for the contrivers of the Temple to introduce columns from elsewhere. But, as the Emperor was distressed at the difficulty of the task, God shewed a kind of stone in the nearest mountains well adapted for the purpose, whether it existed and was concealed previously or was now created. In either case, there is credibility in the account to those who refer the cause to God. For though we, measuring everything by human power, believe many things have been excluded as impossible; yet nothing could be either difficult or impossible to the God of all.

Hence, then, extraordinary columns of great size, and resembling in their colour the brightness of flame, support the Temple on all sides, some from beneath, some from above; and others about the porches which surround the whole Temple, except on the eastern side. Two of these stand before the gate of the Temple, of exceeding splendour and inferior perhaps to no column in the world. From thence proceeds another porch, called Narthex, as I imagine from its want of width. After this is an atrium raised upon like columns in a square. The intermediate doors are of such grandeur as to give those who enter in an idea what a great spectacle they are about to encounter. The propylæum from hence is of wonderful beauty, and has an arch raised upon two columns to an immense height; while, as you go forward, two semicircular buildings stand facing each other on each side of the way to the Temple. There are two hospices on either side the other way, the work of the Emperor Justinian. The one is a lodging-house for visitors from a distance, the other a resting place for the sick poor.

This Temple of the Virgin was endowed also by the Emperor Justinian with a revenue of large amount. The works then of the Emperor Justinian in Jerusalem were of this kind.

APPENDIX IV.

ITINERARIUM BURDIGALA HIERUSALEM USQUE.[1]

IV. Hierusalem, piscinæ, Bethsaida, crypta Salomonis, turris excelsa, lapis reprobatus, palatium Salomonis, exceptoria aquæ, locus templi, statuæ Hadriani, lapis pertusus, domus Ezechiæ.

Sunt in Hierusalem piscinæ magnæ duæ ad latus templi, id est, una ad dexteram, alia ad sinistram, quas Salomon fecit; interius vero in civitate sunt piscinæ gemellares, quinque porticus habentes, quæ appellantur Bethsaida. Ibi ægri multorum annorum sanabantur; aquam autem habent piscinæ in modum cocci turbatam. Est et ibi crypta, ubi Salomon dæmones torquebat. Et ibi est angulus turris excelsissimæ, ubi Dominus ascendit, et dixit ei, qui tentabat eum: Si filius Dei es, mitte te deorsum. Et ait ei Dominus: Non tentabis Dominum Deum tuum, sed illi soli servies. Ibi est lapis angularis magnus, de quo dictum est: Lapidem, quem reprobaverunt ædificantes, hic factus est ad caput anguli. Et sub pinna turris ipsius sunt cubicula plurima, ubi Salomon palatium habebat. Ibi etiam constat cubiculum, in quo sedit et Sapientiam descripsit; ipsum vero cubiculum uno lapide est tectum. Sunt ibi et exceptuaria magna aquæ subterranea et piscinæ magno opere ædificatæ. Et in æde ipsa, ubi templum fuit, quod Salomon ædificavit, in marmore ante aram sanguinem Zachariæ dicunt hodie fusum; etiam parent vestigia clavorum militum, qui eum occiderunt, per totam aream, ut putes in cera fixum esse. Sunt ibi et statuæ duæ Hadriani, et est non longe de statuis lapis pertusus, ad quem veniunt Judæi singulis annis, et unguent eum, et lamentant se cum gemitu, et vestimenta sua scindunt, et sic recedunt. Est ibi et domus Ezechiæ, regis Judæ.

V. Piscina Siloe.

Item exeunti Hierusalem, ut ascendas Sion, in parte sinistra et deorsum in valle, juxta murum, est piscina, quæ dicitur Siloa et habet quadriporticum, et alia piscina grandis foras. Hic fons sex diebus atque noctibus currit, septimo vero die, qui est sabbatum, in totum nec nocte, nec die currit.

VI. Sion, locus domus Caiphæ, palatium David, synagoga.

Inde eadem via ascenditur Sion, et paret, ubi fuit domus Caiphæ sacerdotis, et columna adhuc ibi est, in qua Christum flagellis ceciderunt. Intus autem, intra murum Sion, paret locus, ubi palatium habuit David. Ex septem synagogis, quæ illic fuerant, una tantum remansit; reliquæ autem arantur et seminantur, sicut Isaias propheta dixit.

[1] From Palæstinæ Descriptiones ex Sæculo IV, V et VI, by Titus Tobler, St. Gallen, 1869.

VII. Porta Neapolitana, parietes prætorii veteris, Golgotha, sepulcrum Domini, basilica Constantini.

Inde ut eas foras murum de Sion, eunti ad portam Neapolitanam ad partem dexteram, deorsum in valle sunt parietes, ubi domus fuit sive prætorium Pontii Pilati: ubi Dominus auditus est, antequam pateretur. A sinistra autem parte est monticulus Golgotha, ubi Dominus crucifixus est. Inde quasi ad lapidis missum est crypta, ubi corpus ejus positum fuit, et tertio die surrexit. Ibidem modo jussu Constantini imperatoris basilica facta est, id est, dominicum miræ pulchritudinis, habens ad latus exceptoria, unde aqua levatur, et balneum a tergo, ubi infantes lavantur.

VIII. Vallis Josaphat, petra traditionis, palma Christi, monumenta Isaiæ et Ezechiæ.

Item ab Hierusalem eunti ad portam, quæ est contra orientem, ut ascendatur in montem Oliveti, vallis, quæ dicitur Josaphat. Ad partem sinistram, ubi sunt vineæ, est et petra, ubi Judas Iscarioth Christum tradidit; ad partem vero dexteram est arbor palmæ, de qua infantes ramos tulerunt et, veniente Christo, substraverunt. Inde non longe, quasi ad lapidis missum, sunt monumenta duo, monubiles miræ pulchritudinis, facta: in unum positus est Isaias propheta, qui est vere monolithus, et in alium Ezechias, rex Judæorum.

IX. Mons Oliveti, locus discipulorum Dominum audientium, basilica Constantini, locus visionis, Bethania.

Inde ascendis in montem Oliveti, ubi Dominus ante passionem discipulos docuit. Ibi facta est jussu Constantini basilica miræ pulchritudinis. Inde non longe est monticulus, ubi Dominus ascendit orare, et apparuit illic Moyses et Elias, quando Petrum et Joannem secum duxit. Inde ad orientem passus mille quingentos est villa, quæ appellatur Bethania. Ibi est crypta, ubi Lazarus positus fuit, quem suscitavit Dominus.

INNOMINATUS I.[1]

Incipit Descriptio Sanctorum Locorum.

I. Si quis ab occidentalibus partibus Jerusalem adire voluerit, solis ortum semper teneat et Hierosolymitani loci oratoria ita inveniet, sicut hic notata sunt.

II. In Jerusalem est cubiculum uno lapide coopertum, ubi Salomon sapientiæ librum scripsit, et ibi inter templum et altare in marmore ante aram sanguis Zachariæ fusus est. Inde non longe est lapis, ad quem per singulos annos Judæi veniunt et unguentes eum

[1] Theodorici Libellus de Locis sanctis. Cui accedunt breviores aliquot descriptiones Terræ Sanctæ. Titus Tobler. St. Gallen, 1865. P. 113.

lamentantur et sic cum gemitu recedunt. Ibi est domus Ezechiæ, regis Juda, cui ter quinos annos ad vitam Dominus dedit. Deinde est domus Caiphæ, et columna, ad quam Christus ligatus, flagellatus, cæsus fuit. Ad portam neapolitanam est prætorium Pilati, ubi Christus a principibus sacerdotum judicatus fuit. Inde non procul est Golgotha vel Calvariæ locus, ubi Christus, filius Dei, crucifixus fuit, et primus Adam sepultus ibi fuit, et Abraham ibi Deo sacrificavit.

NOTE.

With the assistance of the maps and plans attached to this work, there is now no difficulty in following the steps of the Bordeaux Pilgrim in his peregrinations through Jerusalem. His description is partly historical, partly topographical. He begins with a description of the Palace and Temple of Solomon, and all the various objects he mentions are easily distinguishable on Plate I.; and, in so far as any such authority is to be depended upon, are a valuable confirmation of the statements made in the text. He then ascends Zion, apparently by the stairs of the city of David, or rather by the bridge or causeway which Herod had erected to supply their place. He leaves the fountain of Siloam on his left hand, and, by inference, though it is not expressly so stated, the house of Caiaphas on his right, and thus may refer to the column in the Masonic Hall (woodcut No. 46), though this is hardly sufficient to prove that it was so. After this, it is added that within the wall of Zion are seven synagogues, thus indicating that, as early as A.D. 333, this name had been transferred from the eastern to the western hill. Having thus disposed of both ancient and modern Jewish antiquities, the Pilgrim returns to the eastern hill to describe the Christian buildings then in course of erection by order of Constantine.

Those who adopt the view that the present church in the town is the one in progress of erection when the Pilgrim was in Jerusalem, as a necessary consequence, assume that the Damascus Gate was the Porta Neapolitana, and justify this by saying that, as Nablous or Neapolis was on the north of Jerusalem, this gate was, of necessity, so called. If nothing depended upon it, this is a very innocent guess, which might be allowed to stand; but when it is used to prove that a set of buildings are what they certainly are not, some further proof is indispensable; but none is forthcoming. During the fifteen centuries that have elapsed since the Pilgrim's time, no single instance has been adduced of that name being applied to that gate. Sancta Paula and numerous other pilgrims entered by it, but do not call it by that name. We have several descriptions of the gates of Jerusalem, but the name does not appear again. According to my view, it was an internal gate, and would not be enumerated among the city gates of Jerusalem, and was so called because, according to Eusebius, it led from that old and accursed city, to the new Jerusalem, which had been erected opposite to it.

The sequel of the narrative makes it almost certain that this was so. The Pilgrim was not going towards the northern gate of the city, but towards the eastern, in order to ascend to Olivet. It is not possible now to say exactly where the eastern gate was situated, as the whole of the wall between what was the Palace of Solomon and the Golden Gateway has been entirely rebuilt, probably in the time of the Crusades. It could not, however, be very far

from where it is marked on the plan (Plate VII.), as he mentions on his right hand the palm-trees from which the children cut branches and strewed them before Christ, and not far from thence the well-known tombs of Absalom and Zacharias, though then known by different names. It probably was the Porta Tecuitis of Arculfus, which is mentioned immediately after the Portula, whose position is well ascertained as immediately to the south of the Golden Gateway.

The passage from the Innominatus I., quoted at the end of the Bordeaux Pilgrim's account, confirms this view to the fullest possible extent. Both authors point most distinctly to the Turris Antonia as the Prætorium of Pilate, and the latter distinctly asserts that the Porta Neapolitana was attached to (*ad*) the Prætorium. No one, I fancy, will contend that the Prætorium was at the Damascus Gate, or anywhere near it; yet if it was not, the usual theory is wholly untenable. It probably was the gate which, in the time of the Crusades, became the Porta Speciosa, described by John of Würzburg as that in which Peter and John cured the lame man.

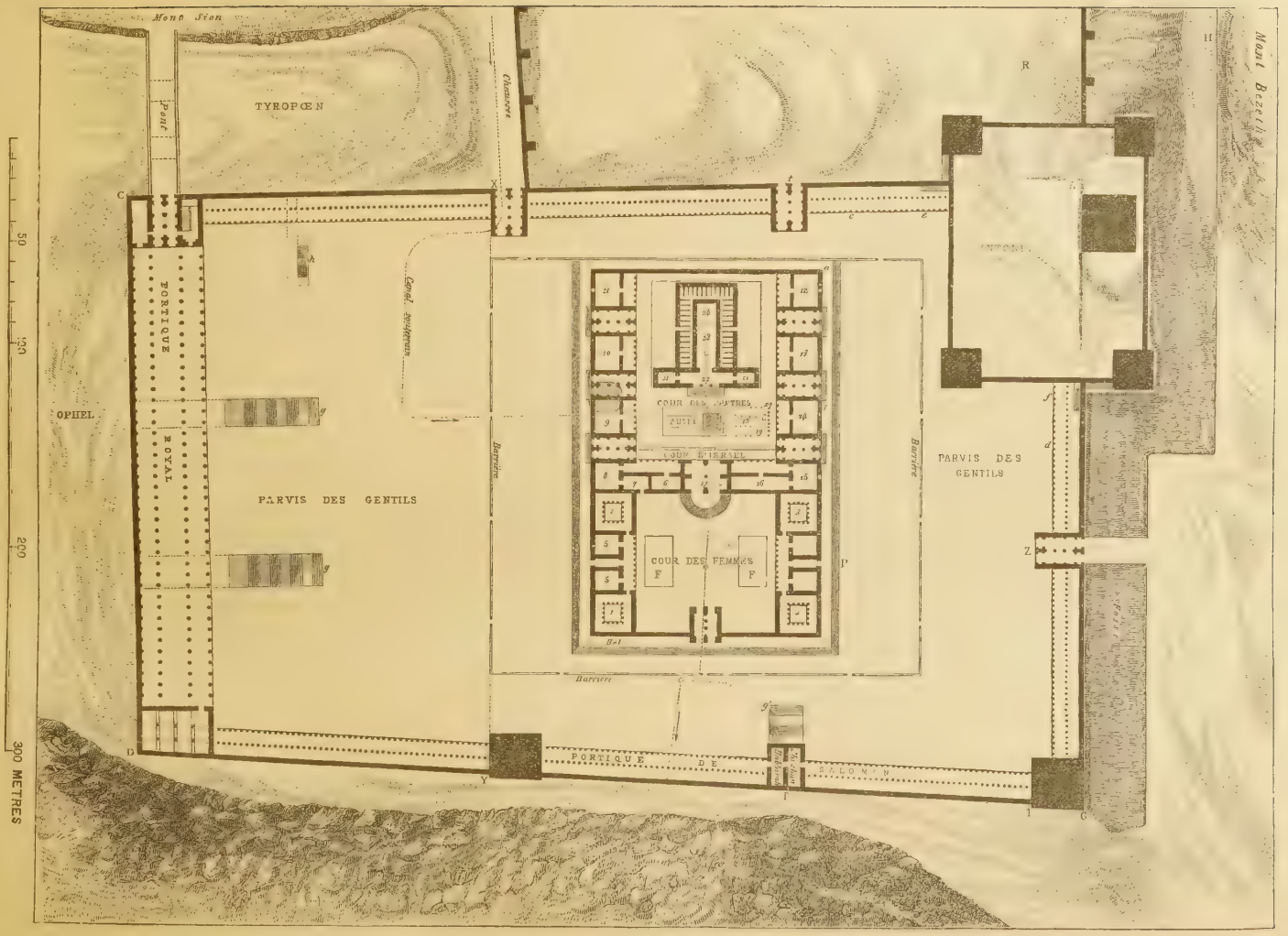
APPENDIX V

LE TEMPLE DE JÉRUSALEM: MONOGRAPHIE DU HARAM ECH CHÉRIF.

By Count Melchior de Vogüé.

Having in the preceding pages stated my views with regard to the plans and disposition of the various buildings in the Haram area, it may be interesting to explain briefly the conclusions arrived at, on this same subject, by so competent an authority as the Count de Vogüé, especially as these are in every important particular diametrically opposed to mine, and if they cannot be shown to be erroneous, those announced in this work have no claim to the consideration of those interested in the subject. An examination of his views, however slight, will at all events enable others to judge more correctly of what is stated in the text, by having the pleadings on both sides placed before them, while the woodcut on the next page, which is reduced by photography from one of his plates, will enable readers to see at a glance where and to what extent we differ from one another.

While stating my reasons for differing from him, I am quite prepared to admit that there is probably no man living who is so well entitled to be listened to on this subject as the Count de Vogüé. By his position, he is a gentleman, above all suspicion of stating anything with intentional unfairness. By education, he is a scholar, especially learned in the languages bearing on this subject; and besides these qualifications, he has devoted a considerable time to the study of the antiquities of Syria on the spot, so as probably to know more about them personally than any one else. In 1854 he first visited the Holy Land, and studied with infinite care the church at Bethlehem, and that known as the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, besides most of the churches then accessible in their neighbourhood. On his return home, he published, in 1860, a work entitled 'Les Églises de la Terre Sainte,' which, for minuteness of detail and beauty of illustration, leaves little to be desired. It certainly is the most valuable contribution to our knowledge of the subject of which it treats that has yet been published. Again, in the latter end of 1861, he revisited the East. After spending six months in exploring the Hauran, and the north of Syria, he settled, in June 1862, in Jerusalem, with the intention of thoroughly investigating the Haram and studying its history. In these explorations he was accompanied by his friend, M. Waddington, now Minister for Foreign Affairs in France, a scholar of considerable eminence; and M. Duthoit, an artist perfectly capable of drawing anything he saw with elegance and accuracy. The results of these journeys were first given to the world in a work entitled 'Syrie Centrale,' commenced more than ten years ago, the text of which, however, was only given to the world while the present work was passing through the press. At an earlier date (1864), M. de Vogüé published the results of his investigations in the Haram in a work entitled 'Le Temple de Jérusalem: Monographie du Haram ech Chérif,' which is the work that especially interests us at present. In scope and intention it is almost identical



75.—Plan of the Temple of Herod as Restored by the Count de Vogüé. (Photographed from his plate xv.)

with the present volume, and differs from it only in the conclusions it arrives at, and in the beauty and magnificence of its illustrations. In these it far surpasses anything I have attempted. Indeed, I doubt much if artists could be found in this country capable of executing anything combining so much accuracy with such artistic elegance.

It would of course be both tedious and unprofitable to attempt to examine all the points raised in this discussion. I propose, therefore, to select three, and to treat of these only, in this Appendix; but I think it will be admitted that these three are the most important, and typical of all, and their determination involves that of all the others. They are:—

First. The position and dimensions of Herod's Temple.

Second. The age and origin of the Golden Gateway, involving, of course, that of the Dome of the Rock.

Third. The question whether the Aksa is or is not Justinian's church, or built on its site.

The first of these is a Jewish, the second a Christian, the third a Saracenic question, and the three together involve, practically, the history of all the buildings treated of in the preceding pages.

The principal difficulty in this case is to state the Count de Vogüé's argument with fairness, for its logic appears to me so strange that I confess I have considerable difficulty at times in following it, and may consequently unintentionally misrepresent his meaning. This cannot, however, be done to any great extent, as his work is generally accessible, and the woodcut No. 75, being a photograph from his own plate, will be sufficient to check any extensive misconception of his argument.

In the first place, the Count fully admits (page 19) the distinctness of Josephus' statement, that the Temple was a square, the perimeter of which was 4 stadia, each side measuring 1 stadium,[1] but this he assigns to Solomon's, not to Herod's, Temple. To me it is inconceivable that any one reading the whole work can understand Josephus, as describing Solomon's Temple, in his 15th book, after he had finished with him and his works in his 8th. I quite admit the clumsiness of his introducing Solomon's name, in the middle of the chapter, and not inserting Herod's name, when he resumed the description of his works, but this is unfortunately only too characteristic of this author.

Though I cannot see it in any other light, the Count does, and we must therefore let it stand for the present, and see what it leads to. The principal assertion is that the Temple was a square, and there is nothing whatever either in Josephus or the Talmud to lead us to suppose it ever was anything else, whatever its dimensions may have been, but there are two paragraphs in Josephus which are so clumsily expressed as to allow a considerable latitude of interpretation. The first is, "He (Herod) rebuilt the Temple, and took in a space of ground double of what it occupied before, and surrounded it with a wall."[2] The question here is, what did Herod double? I have already given my reasons (page 74) for believing that the Temple which existed when Herod rebuilt it was that described by Hecatæus, and I feel convinced that, if Count de Vogüé had gone as carefully through the earlier Temples as I have done, he would never have assumed that Solomon's Temple was 400 cubits square, or that a Temple of these dimensions existed in Jerusalem in the first century B.C. If this is granted, however, there can be no great

[1] Ant. xv. 11, 3.

[2] *τὸν ναὸν ἐπεσνεύασε καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀνετειχίσατο χώραν τῆς οὔσης διπλάσιαν. κ.τ.λ.* B. J. i. 21, 1.

objection to the use the Count makes of the second ambiguous passage, where it is said, "That the porticos of the Temple, with the Antonia, measured 6 stadia in circumference";[1] provided it can be made to agree with the other indications.

The argument Count de Vogüé founds on these two passages is this. As Solomon's Temple was 1 stadium square, Herod added another enclosure of the same form to the southward of it (see his woodcut, page 22), and made the Temple, in theory, a parallelogram, 400 cubits east and west, by 800 cubits north and south, the length of the Stoa Basilica, 1 stadium, fixing the dimension of its southern side.

The first objection to this theory is, that there is not a single expression either in Josephus or the Talmud that would lead us to suppose that the Temple of Herod was anything but a square. The latter is quite distinct on the subject. "The Mountain of the House was a square of 500 cubits each way." If you reject the description in Josephus' 15th book as not applying to Herod's Temple, because the assertion there is not perfectly distinct, you have nevertheless the certainty that the Stoa Basilica that occupied the south side was 1 stadium in length, and that Solomon's Porch, on the eastern side, was 400 cubits;[2] and, to say the least of it, there is the extremest improbability that the eastern porch was really 800 cubits long, and that only half of it was ascribed to Solomon.

In addition to this, there is the prophecy mentioned in the 6th book of the 'Wars of the Jews,'[3] that "their city should be taken as well as their holy house, when once their Temple should become four square," which Josephus explains it became by the destruction of the Antonia. The destruction of that fortress as drawn by De Vogüé (woodcut No. 75) would be far from having that effect, and consequently the prophecy would have no meaning; though it is just one of those incidental pieces of evidence that are most valuable in such circumstances.

Another objection is its extreme improbability. According to the Rabbis, as practically adopted by De Vogüé, the Temple, properly so called, viz. without the Court of the Gentiles, was 342 cubits east and west, and only 215 cubits north and south. If, consequently, an extension were wanted, it would most probably be in its major axis, and not at right angles, as shown in De Vogüé's plan (woodcut No. 75), which is awkward in the extreme.

In order to accommodate the statement of the Rabbis, that there was most space on the south, next on the east, third on the north, and least space in the west, the Count has felt constrained to place the Temple in the northern position of his parallelogram, making Herod's extension consequently in the south. This statement is in direct contradiction to Josephus, who tells us that, when they wanted to enlarge the Temple, they took down the *northern* wall to get as much room as was required. Besides this, as pointed out above (*ante*, page 118), this tradition regarding the spaces round the Temple is one of the vaguest in the Talmud, and one of the least to be depended upon. It is not stated where they were measured from, nor are the measurements given in any direction; and it seems to me quite inadmissible that one of the haziest passages in the Talmud should be relied upon, while one of the most distinct—that the Temple was square—should be rejected without any reason given.

Again, why should Herod take in that large area marked as "Court of the Gentiles" on the south of the Temple? Of what use was it? Why go to the enormous expense of building up the south-east and south-west angles of the Haram from 100 to 150 feet above

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[1] B. J. v. 5, 2. [2] Ant. xx. 9, 7. [3] B. J. vi. 5, 4.

these foundations when, by restricting the hypæthral part of the Court of the Gentiles, which the Count makes 600 feet in width, to 100 feet or less, he might have saved all this useless expenditure? There could be no service in the external court, and it is very unlikely that the Jews would have tolerated, even if Herod had wished it, that so large a portion or portions of the Temple should be devoted to the Gentiles.

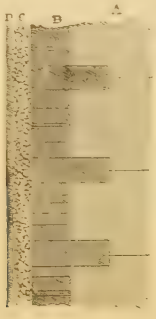
It would be easy to multiply these objections to almost any extent. The whole plan looks to me so unnatural—if the expression may be used—and so unlike anything any one would expect from the study of the authorities, that I could give fifty reasons for rejecting it; but, after all, the most tangible one will be its external dimensions, which, so far as I can see, cannot be made to agree with any of our authorities. Assuming for the nonce that De Vogüé is right, that the area of the Temple was a parallelogram 2 stadia or 1200 feet north and south, and 600 feet east and west,[1] or 3600 feet in perimeter, including the Antonia, and protracting that on the map, we are still a very long way from occupying the whole Haram area. Count de Vogüé is aware of this, but gets over the difficulty by the following calculation. Josephus, he says, makes the southern face of the Temple 1 stadium, which is true; but the southern face measures 280 metres (933 feet). He must therefore have been speaking only loosely—making a guess, in fact—but, following up the same system when he said the perimeter was 6 stadia, including the Antonia, he meant six times 280 or 1680 metres, equal to 5580 feet as the perimeter of the Haram area, including the Antonia, as drawn by him, or nearly 2000 feet in excess of anything our authorities would lead us to expect, on even the widest interpretation. Without the Antonia, he makes the perimeter of the Temple 1525 metres, or, in round numbers, 5000 feet, or more than double the 2400, which is really the highest figure that can be extracted from Josephus, and 2000 feet in excess of even the exaggerated calculation of the Talmud. I confess, when I first read this, it took my breath away, and it was not till I had turned the metres into feet, and tried them in the Survey, that I could convince myself I understood the author rightly. Except Captain Warren's theory, that the Jewish cubit was 21 inches, and that Josephus meant cubits when he said feet, I do not know of any theory that seems so baseless as this. To assume that a stadium was 933 feet, without attempting to prove it, and then to apply this stadium to a theory already strained beyond the endurable limits of tension, does appear to me to be throwing overboard all those principles which ought to guide us in investigations of this sort.

If there existed in the Haram area any remains or local indications which it was found impossible to reconcile with the *litera scripta*, it might be necessary, and consequently justifiable, to strain the meaning of the texts in order to try and get rid of the discrepancies. As it is, however, according to the Count de Vogüé's own showing, the facts are all against his interpretation. In plate i. of his 'Temple de Jérusalem,' he marks, in solid back shading, all those parts which were ancient, and could consequently have belonged to the old Temple. According to this authority, the whole of the southern wall with its adjuncts is ancient. So is the western wall past the Wailing Place, to the extent of about 500 feet from the south-western angle. So, too, is the eastern wall for about 260 feet from the south-eastern corner of the Haram. Northward of these parts there is absolutely nothing

[1] As the theory of De Vogüé is all contained in one short chapter of his work, pp. 17–25, it has not been thought necessary to repeat the reference every time it is mentioned. In like manner, as all the references to Josephus and other authors are given in the text of this work, they have been omitted here unless when specially wanted.

that is marked as ancient, except the two monolithic door-posts of the Golden Gateway. These, however, are wholly without carving or moulding of any sort, and may consequently be of any age. To them we shall return presently, and beyond them there is a tower adjacent to the Birket Israel. There is, however, absolutely no reason for supposing that this ever formed part of the Temple. No north-eastern tower is anywhere mentioned as attached to that building, and this is just such a tower as we would naturally look for in this situation from Josephus' description of the wall built here by Agrippa[1] thirteen years after the Crucifixion.

Close to this tower is the Birket Israel, which the Count assumes to be a ditch meant to protect the northern face of the Temple. It is not, however, a fortification ditch in any sense of the term. As Salzmann showed, as long ago as 1856, it is essentially a cistern meant to receive the drainage of a valley trending from the north-west, and to store its waters. The walls are carefully and artistically prepared for that purpose, as shown in the annexed woodcut, and certainly not for defence. Captain Warren has since then found its outlet[2] so arranged as to prove this beyond doubt, if proof were wanted.



A, Hewn stones 18 to 20 inches thick.

B, Smaller stones dovetailed into the joints of the inner course.

C, Concrete, formed of pebbles and broken brick with very bad cement.

D, A coating of impermeable cement.

76.—Section of Masonry lining the Birket Israel. (From Salzmann's Jerusalem, p. 11.)

Assuming it, however, to be a fortification ditch, as Count de Vogüé wishes, its existence here is absolutely fatal to his theory of the Temple area. Nothing is more clear than that Titus erected mounds against the northern wall of the Temple before the fall of the Antonia, and fought the Jews in front of the monument of King Alexander.[3] Had a ditch of this sort existed during the siege, 75 feet deep and 120 feet wide, it is impossible he could have erected his engines against the northern face of the Temple, or indeed attacked it in any form, without filling up the ditch, as Pompey had done that on the north of the old Temple when he besieged it.[4] That he did not fill up this one is clear, because it is open to the present day, and it rendered the Haram area impregnable on that side before the introduction of fire-arms.

As Count de Vogüé insists (page 21) that the Temple of Herod was identical in size and form with that of Solomon, this fact, of all the ancient remains being in the southern portion of the Haram area, and none in the northern, where he places it, is almost as strong an

[1] B. J. v. 4, 2. [2] Recovery of Jerusalem, 165. [3] B. J. v. 7, 3. [4] Ant. xiv. 4, 2.

argument as could well be used against his view of the site. It is not final, of course, because it may have happened that all the northern ones may have been removed, in some mysterious manner, and all the southern ones preserved, we know not why; but it is, to say the least of it, strange and unlikely that it should be so.[1] Curiously enough, the Count makes no use of the Sakhra in determining the site of the Temple. According to his plan, it was buried partly under the floor of room No. 9, partly under the entrance between that room and No. 10, on the south side of the Temple, where I have marked it in woodcut No. 75 by a shaded patch. If this was so, the whole of the area of the inner Temple must have been raised considerably above contour of 2440 feet; and it seems very improbable indeed that such a mass of masonry should have so entirely disappeared; still more so that it should have vanished so entirely before the seventh century that Omar and Abd-el-Malek should have mistaken this buried rock for something they were looking for. What they were searching for, so far as I can make out, was something very unlike this, so much so that no Mahomedan historian mentions it and its cave in any terms by which it can now be recognised.

Assuming for the nonce that all these scriptural and local difficulties can be got over, though many more could be stated if it were worth while,[2] let us now try how far Count de Vogüé's disposition of the parts of the Temple accords with what we know of its uses in the probable appropriation of its various parts. The following table, though not minutely correct, as the scale of De Vogüé's plan is not sufficiently large to make it so, is sufficiently near to explain the relative importance of the various parts.

DIMENSIONS OF HEROD'S TEMPLE ACCORDING TO DE VOGÜÉ.

Court of the Priests, including Temple and Altar	176	cubits	by	135	cubits	=	264	feet by	202½	feet, or 53,328 square feet.
Court of the Men of Israel	11	„		135	„	=	16½	„	202½	„ 3,341 „
Court of the Women	135	„		135	„	=	202	„	202	„ 41,000 „
Temple including Chel	197	metres	by	130	metres	=	650	„	430	„ 280,000 „
Court of the Gentiles	470	„		297	„	=	1540	„	980	„ 1,509,200 „
Deduct Antonia	67	„		100	„	=	220	„	330	„ 72,600 „
Area of Temple										1,436,600 square feet.

From this it results that the area of the Temple, properly so called, including the Temple, Altar, and all that was sacred, covered little more than 50,000 square feet. In addition to this was a court accessible to the *men* of Israel, covering some

[1] At the time he wrote, the Count was not aware of Captain Warren's discoveries, which make it so probable that the south-east angle of the Haram was the work of Solomon. As he has—so far as I am aware—expressed no opinion on the subject since they were made public, we must wait to know how far he accepts them, and also to what extent they may modify his views.

[2] To mention only one of these. The Count carries the Stoa Basilica east and west along the whole southern front of the Haram, which is 933 feet, including two angle towers. Whether the western of these towers did or did not exist cannot well be proved. It is not mentioned anywhere, and its position there is, to say the least of it, most improbable. The eastern one, we may say, certainly had no existence, or its foundations up to the level of the Haram area would have been found. Between it and the Triple Gateway, there is absolutely nothing on which the pillars of the Stoa could stand, as shown on page 75, and no proposition appears to me more clear than that it never extended there. That one objection is, to my mind, fatal to the whole theory, as the facts now stand. If it can be explained away, it ought to be done at once, for, as it now stands, it proves that all eastward of the Triple Gateway was a void then as it is now.

3300 square feet, and one appropriated to the *women* of Israel, covering 41,000 square feet, or twelve times more than the space allotted to the men, a piece of gallantry on the part of the Jews we were hardly prepared for.

I reject at once, as wholly at variance with our usual authorities, the Count de Vogüé's position of the Soreg. Even assuming that the position in which I have placed it, at the top of the stairs, was open to doubt, Josephus most distinctly states, that it, enclosing the inner court, was not far from the porticos of the outer court (*ἀπέχων οὐ πολύ*),[1] and evidently concentric with it. As drawn by him, it is sometimes near to, sometimes far from, the inner, and has as little symmetrical reference to the outer court, and seems utterly devoid of meaning or symmetry. Taking therefore the whole area of the Temple, exclusive of the Antonia, in round numbers, as 1,440,000 square feet, and deducting from that the area of the Temple with its Chel, or 280,000 square feet, we arrive at the rather startling conclusion, that, after enclosing this immense space at enormous expense, especially on the south side, the Jews modestly reserved less than one-fifth part to themselves, and ceded the whole of the rest to the Gentiles.

These things, I confess, fill me with astonishment, and when I see such theories generally accepted without question, I feel that there is something in all this that is quite beyond the reach of my intellectual capacity. It is true, of course, that it so happens that, if the whole of the Haram area were occupied by the Temple of the Jews, there is an end of all theories regarding Constantine's building—the Dome of the Rock—or the Golden Gateway, or making any mistakes about the Sepulchre of Christ being on the eastern hill. But I do not believe that the Count de Vogüé could be influenced by any idea of this sort in restoring the Temple. He is far too clever a man, and too good a tactician, not to know that to attempt to hold an extended position with a garrison so weak as not to be sufficient to defend it effectually is not only to risk the loss of the post, but the capture of the defenders, and the consequent loss and damage to the cause. He must have convinced himself that the Temple occupied the whole area, with the same sincerity that I have convinced myself that it occupied only one quarter of the space he allots to it; and having each of us stated our views, it must be left to others to judge between us. By a comparison of my Plate II. with the woodcut No. 75 at the beginning of this Appendix, the comparison ought not be to difficult.

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[1] Ant. xv. 11, 3.

77.—West Front of Golden Gateway. (From a photograph.)

The Golden Gateway.

As mentioned in the text of this work (page 195), no English author that I am acquainted with has attempted to answer the question—Who built the Golden Gateway? All have been content to pass it by in silence; yet it is no mean building. Its dimensions are considerable, 80 by 55 feet over all, or those of a small parish church, and its ornamentation, especially internally, is rich and elaborate to an unusual degree. This is fully admitted by the Count de Vogüé, who devotes six beautiful plates to its illustration, while he only devotes three to the architecture of the Dome of the Rock, exclusive of its mosaic and coloured decorations. Such a building as this could not be smuggled into existence without its being known who built it, and being a gateway, and a gateway only, it must be part of some group of buildings, and led to some building which may not now exist.

Whether mistaken or not, the Count de Vogüé is too much of a gentleman ever to adopt the tactics of silence in order to escape from a difficulty. He consequently faces this one boldly. "J'ignore," he says, "ce qui fut construit au IVe siècle, mais au Ve ou au VIe on bâtit un monument qui subsiste encore, et qui, sauf quelques restaurations partielles, est parvenu intact jusqu'à nous" (page 64). In the same paragraph he goes on to explain that it was built by the Christians, who believed it to be on the site of the Beautiful Gate of the Temple, and they erected it in this faith, in honour of the miracle performed by St. Peter and St. John in curing the lame man, as narrated in the 3rd chapter of the Acts of the Apostles.

Here, therefore, we have two distinct questions raised: first, as to the age of the monument, and, secondly, as to the probability of the Christians, between the age of Constantine and that of Justinian, re-erecting a part of the Jewish Temple to commemorate a miracle performed within its precincts.

In the first place, we may safely put on one side the idea that the Golden Gateway was built by Justinian; if for no other reason, because it is not mentioned by Procopius, which it certainly would have been, had his patron erected it, but more so because the style is so totally unlike anything erected during his reign. We know enough of his style to feel quite sure of this. The Golden Gateway is built with concave pilaster capitals of a

tolerably pure Corinthian acanthus, quite unlike the convex capitals such as those shown in woodcuts Nos. 59 and 60, which are so characteristic of Justinian's reign. But more than even this, the Golden Gateway retains the three indispensable parts of the classical orders, the architrave, frieze, and cornice, a combination that had ceased to exist before the sixth century. On the other hand, we know exactly what the Roman orders were down to the time of Diocletian, from his buildings at Spalatro and elsewhere. The question, therefore, is, Does the architecture of the Golden Gateway resemble more that of Diocletian or of Justinian, and what is the probable interval that may have elapsed before or after the time of either of these emperors when it was erected?

In order to establish the exact position of the Golden Gateway in the architectural sequence, it is hardly necessary to go beyond the plates of the Count de Vogüé's own 'Syrie Centrale.' They indeed would be quite sufficient for the purpose if it were not that there seems to have been a pause in the building activity in Syria during the half-century that elapsed between the time of Aurelian (A.D. 270), and Constantine (say, A.D. 320), and it is consequently necessary to supplement his series by examples from Mylasa and Spalatro in order to supply the necessary links in the chain of evidence.

During the three centuries that elapsed from the first introduction of the Roman form of the Corinthian order at Rome till it ceased to be employed at Palmyra, Baalbec, and Gerash, down indeed to the building of the Basilica at Bethlehem, the forms of the order were stereotyped; and it requires a practised eye to detect the difference between the earlier and later examples of the style. The Golden Gateway is one of the first instances of deviation from the established form. All the essentials of the order are still there, but used somewhat differently, and with an evident tendency towards emancipation from the familiar Pagan forms.

If the six plates illustrating the Golden Gateway had been engraved in the 'Syrie Centrale,' instead of in 'Le Temple de Jérusalem,' they would have been inserted after plate 29, representing the arch at Latakiah, and numbered as 29 A, B, C, &c., as the last of the classical examples, though, as just mentioned, there is a slight hiatus here in the series. With plate 30 we enter on a totally different state of affairs. The buildings at Serdjilla, Moudjileia, and El Barah (plates 31–76) belong to the Byzantine order, without a single specimen that can be called classical. They are in fact hardly so classical as the Romanesque style of the South of France and North of Italy in the tenth and eleventh centuries, which certainly cannot be called Roman. If, for instance, we take the capital at El Barah (plate 62), which is the one in the whole series most like those of the Golden Gateway, it hardly requires an educated eye to see that a century at least must have elapsed after the erection of the Golden Gateway before the true Corinthian order could have become so denaturalised. Yet this is dated fourth or fifth century by De Vogüé.

I would, however, be content to rest the whole argument on the details of the Great Pyramid at El Barah (plates 75 and 76), which is likewise dated as erected in the fifth century. There is absolutely nothing classical about it. There is no entablature with its three members, no modillion cornice; nothing, in fact, to remind us of the Roman order we are so familiar with. On the other hand, there are the full convex Byzantine cornices, the rude contorted scrolls, and all those features of the new order which culminated in the erection of Sancta Sophia at Constantinople. The question remains, Is the Golden Gateway nearer in style to the buildings of Diocletian at Spalatro, or those at El Barah,

or the others comprehended in the Count de Vogüé's plates 30–76? So far as I am capable of judging, it is a very short step from the styles of Spalatro to that of Jerusalem; but a very long stride, which it is extremely difficult to measure, between Jerusalem and El Barah.[1] Till, indeed, I became acquainted with De Vogüé's work, I had no idea the transition was so rapid. In Europe it took five or six centuries to transform the Roman style into the Romanesque. In Syria it was converted into the Byzantine in a century, or a century and a half. I hardly know of any transition so rapid in the whole history of architecture. But granting that it was so, it seems to me ignoring all the principles of architectural criticism to assert that less than a century or a century and a half elapsed between the Byzantine buildings at El Barah and the quasi-Roman ones at Jerusalem; and if the former were erected in the fifth century, as Count de Vogüé states—and I see no reason for doubting—it seems impossible that the Golden Gateway can be later than the first half of the fourth century.

The second part of Count de Vogüé's theory of the Golden Gateway seems even more untenable than the first. His contention, that it was erected, as the Beautiful Gate of the Temple—the Porta Speciosa or the Nicanor of the Talmud—to commemorate the miracle therein performed by the apostles Peter and John, seems quite opposed to all we know of the history of the building or of the surrounding localities.

In the first place, we have between Eusebius and Procopius a great number of writers—Chrysostom, Socrates, Sozomen, Jerome, and others—all who knew Jerusalem, or knew at least what was passing there, and in none of their works is there any hint of anything of the sort. The city was Christian, and ruled by Christian bishops, for the whole period from Constantine to Justinian, and neither before nor afterwards is there any hint that any one ever erected or intended to erect any part of the old Temple for this or for any other purpose. We have, indeed, ample evidence that, down at least to the time of the Arab conquest, in the seventh century, the site of the Jewish Temple was held accursed in consequence of the denunciation of our Lord (see *ante*, page 187); and it is almost impossible that any attempt to re-erect any part of it could be entertained by any Christian bishop or potentate of any sort. We know, too, how generally in that age Julian's attempt to rebuild it, in the fourth century was considered an impiety so great as to require the direct interposition of the Divine Providence to stop it. With the remembrance of the miracle still fresh, it does, indeed, seem strange that the rebuilding of a portion of it should be successfully carried out by Christians, and passed over *sub silentio* by all contemporary writers, nor even alluded to by any one until the time of the Crusades.

It is quite true that John of Würzburg, writing in 1170 A.D., points out what was then believed to be the Porta Speciosa of the Temple, and for the first time, I believe, attaches to it the tradition of its being the identical spot where the miracle was performed.[2] Unfortunately, however, for Count de Vogüé's theory, this gateway was situated on the *west* side of the Haram area, while the Golden Gateway is on the *east;* and had the latter

[1] In the text to his work, Le Temple de Jérusalem, p. 68, the Count introduces as a woodcut a pulvinated lintel from El Barah, as proving the similarity of style between the buildings there and the Golden Gateway. To me, it produces exactly the opposite effect. To my eye, they seem at least a century apart.

[2] "Ab occidente" (from the Templum Domni) "etiam habet ostium versus sepulchrum Domini, ubi est Porta Speciosa per quam Petrus, cum Johanne transiens, respondens pauperi eleemosynam ab eis petenti, cum esset claudus dixit, Argentum et aurum non est mihi," &c. Tobler's edition, p. 125. De Vogüé, Les Églises de la Terre Sainte, p. 286.

been expressly erected to commemorate this miracle, it seems incredible that the tradition should not have clung to it. It required more than the usual blundering of that uncritical age to forget entirely the purpose of the erection of the Golden Gateway, and to transfer it to one which never belonged to the Temple at all, but probably was the Porta Neapolitana of the Bordeaux Pilgrim,[1] or of Tobler's Innominatus I.[2]

The topographical and mechanical difficulties in the way of accepting the Count de Vogüé's theory of the Golden Gateway are even greater than those derived from either its architectural ordinances or its history. As before mentioned, the only evidence the Count adduces for its antiquity is the existence of two monolithic door-posts in the north-east and south-east angles of the interior (page 12). These, however, are totally devoid of any ornament or architectural moulding from which their age might be inferred. They are, in fact, as wanting in intrinsic evidence of age as the stones of Stonehenge, or any Rude-Stone monument. The grooves upon them are not rustications, but merely mechanical sinking for some mechanical purpose. What that may have been, is not quite clear. It may have been that they were put there to catch the bars in the doors, so as to allow them to open wider, or to receive the attachments of some bronze or other metal fixing connected with the hinges, or for any other purpose. All I contend for is that they are not architectural, but mechanical, and, consequently, cannot be used as an index of age. They are an undoubted part of the present structure, whatever its age may be; but certainly there is no evidence that they belonged to any earlier one existing on the spot.

Whether this was so or not, the Count de Vogüé was perfectly justified in assuming, what indeed was inevitable, that any gateway existing on this spot which was a part of the Temple must have been subterranean, a tunnel, in fact, like the Huldah and the Prophet's Gateways, the sills of which are nearly on the same level. This being so, the flight of steps in front of it must have exceeded the extraordinary height of 50 feet, as the level of the floor of the Temple, according to De Vogüé, was above contour 2440, as just pointed out, while that of the floor of the Golden Gateway is 2389, or 51 feet less. This immense mass of earth and masonry was afterwards removed, "déblayé à cet effet" (page 12), apparently in the fourth or fifth century, to make room for this gateway, which is admitted to stand, and to have stood, always free, and with architectural features on all its four sides. It may be so; but it seems to me strangely improbable, the more so as the hypothesis involves the belief that the whole of the vast substructions of the Temple, 50 feet above the level of one of its gateways, had been so entirely removed that the plan and features of the Temple were no longer recognisable, a fact which the evidence he himself adduces (page 64) is in itself sufficient to refute, without even referring to the further evidence I have adduced on this subject in the body of the work.

In order that this theory can be admitted, it is indispensable that the destruction of the Temple must have been complete, and the obliteration entire, in the fifth century; otherwise it is impossible to conceive any person, at that time, mistaking a gateway on this site as the "Porta Speciosa" of the Temple. According to his own showing (woodcut No. 75), the Count, in the nineteenth century, was able to ascertain the true position of this gate, 430 feet to the westward of the Golden Gate and of the Gate Shushan, or, at all events, of the gate of the Court of the Women, still 200 feet from it. At the very best, a gate on the site of the Golden Gateway must have been an external gateway of the Court of the Gentiles, placed unsymmetrically with the Temple in a position where it was impossible it

[1] Tobler's edition, p. 5.

[2] Tobler's edition, p. 114. See Appendix IV.

should, in the fifth century, be mistaken for the Beautiful Gate of the Temple, had one vestige of that vast building been visible above ground.

All this may be as the Count de Vogüé states it; and as no one questions his facts, or disputes the conclusions he draws from them, I presume there must be something in it all that I fail to perceive. If it is so, however, I am hopelessly and helplessly in error. I see the facts with different eyes, and draw conclusions by a different process of reasoning, and the reader must be left to choose between us, for I fear any reconciliation of our ideas is impossible, or nearly so.

78.—Capital of Dome of the Rock.
(From a drawing by De Vogüé.)

79.—Capital of Pillar in the Aksa.
(From a drawing by Arundale.)

The Mosque El Aksa or Justinian's Church.

It now only remains to say a few words regarding the third proposition of Count de Vogüé, which I undertook to examine in this Appendix, viz. whether the Aksa is practically identical with Justinian's Church or erected at least on the same site.

The Count does not appear to feel the cogency of the objection I have so often urged against this identification, that the Aksa is avowedly situated within the precincts of the Jewish Temple, and it appears to me impossible that a Christian emperor, in less than two centuries from Julian's unsuccessful attempt to rebuild that Temple, should erect a church in honour of the Virgin Mary in the same locality, unmindful of the denunciations and prophecy of Christ, so often referred to in the body of this work. Had he felt the importance of this objection as I do, it is impossible he should have passed it over *sub silentio*, and without any attempt to explain why Justinian should choose this site in preference to any other, with all Jerusalem open to him. To me it is fatal to the Count's theory, and final; but as neither he nor others see it in the same light, it must, for the purpose of discussion, be assumed that I am over-estimating its importance, and we must argue the case on the basis of the information afforded by Procopius regarding this celebrated building.

What Procopius tells us (Appendix III.) is that the site chosen by the Emperor was on

the south and east, rugged and uneven beyond any other site in Jerusalem; and the burthen of his description is a narrative of the trouble and expense he was at to bring it up to the level of the rest of the "Temenos," so as to provide a foundation for the church and other buildings he proposed to erect. If I object to this, that the position in which the Aksa stands is, and always was, a solid mass, since Herod's time at least, it will be objected that that is my view of the position and dimensions of the Temple, and not necessarily correct. Count de Vogüé cannot, however, avail himself of this objection, inasmuch as he carries the Stoa Basilica across the whole southern front of the Haram area, from valley to valley, and any foundations that were strong enough to support that splendid porch could easily have carried any structure Justinian might have wished to erect.[1]

Assuming, however, that for some good reason, at present unexplained, Justinian determined to build his church within the precincts of the Jewish Temple, why should he have chosen this particular spot? It was the only one that retained any manifest evidences of Herod's or of Julian's handiwork, and consequently the most hateful to Christians. It was inconvenient, because it forced him to trace the axis of his church north and south, instead of east and west, "ut mos usitatior fuit." It allowed no space for the all-important hemicycle and its indispensable chalcidicas. Why, in fact, should he have chosen this most inconvenient site, while he had the whole area, 1500 by 1000 feet, at his disposal?

According to the Count's theory of the Golden Gateway, as just pointed out, the Temple was so completely destroyed and obliterated that the position of its gates and courts could not be ascertained in the fifth and sixth centuries; but even supposing this not to have been quite the case, there still remained an area nearly 1000 by 800 feet to the southward of the Temple properly so called, within its Chel, where De Vogüé places it, which was unencumbered with buildings of any sort, and on any part of which he was at liberty to erect his church and other buildings. As nearly the whole of this portion is practically level, and the rock comes up to the surface, or near to it, over a greater part of it, it is inconceivable that Justinian should have taken all the pains and incurred all the expense Procopius describes, when he could have obtained all he wanted, and a great deal more, without the outlay of a single drachma.

If I apprehend the Count de Vogüé's line of argument correctly, one of the principal reasons he adduces (page 71) for identifying the Aksa with Justinian's church is that he believes the four domes of the vestibule of the Double Gateway with their pendentives to be of Justinian's age. He admits that the monolith in the centre, with its capital, may belong to Herod's time, and also that one of the pendentives belongs to the same age, though he describes it as "fragment romain encastré dans un des pendentifs" (woodcut No. 7, page 9). He also admits that the external masonry of the discharging arch may also be old. Except these fragments, however, according to his view, the triangular placage outside (woodcut No. 46) and the vaults internally belong to Justinian.[2] He further assumes that,

[1] I do not know whether it is from inadvertence or intention that the Count de Vogüé speaks of the "magnifiques terrasses de l'angle *sud-ouest*" (page 70) as particularly suited or the purposes of this erection. Procopius says *south* and *east*.

[2] At page 10 he quotes the inverted inscription dedicated to "Aelio Hadriano" as a proof of his views. To me, it appears that, if it had been utilised by either Julian or Justinian, or any one who understood Latin, they would certainly have put it so that it could be read. No one but an ignorant Saracen could have turned it upside down. To me it seems clear that it, with the upper part of the wall, was built by Abd-el-Malek, as part of the foundation of the Aksa, or it may be subsequently.

as the roof of the Golden Gateway is somewhat similar—small domes resting on pendentives—it, too, must be of the same age. There is in all this, as it appears to me, a jumble of ideas regarding styles that takes one's breath away. The works of Herod, of Constantine, of Julian and Justinian, all reduced to one common denomination, and all relegated to the fifth and sixth centuries! It is evident that the Count and I have no common ground from which to take a departure, or on which to base any conclusions. Merely to repeat what is said in the text would convey no conviction to his mind, nor to that of any one not intimately familiar with the whole subject, and to go over it again, and adduce fresh examples, would not only be very tedious and very expensive, but useless. Those who are not convinced by the arguments already brought forward will not be moved by any amount of reasoning of this class; and, after all, the argument of site is far simpler and more easily intelligible. When it is got over, it will be time enough to refer again to the architecture. Although, therefore, the direct proof of the erroneousness of this theory would be too tedious and laborious to be attempted here, the negative proof is easy, and easily stated. There is not one word in Procopius or in any other author that can be so construed as to mean that Justinian ever undertook to erect such domes as those of the Huldah Gateway, nor can any reason be assigned why he should do so, or to what use he would apply such a subterranean apartment if he possessed it. There is no Christian church, I am aware of, in Justinian's or any other age, possessing such an underground entrance. There is nothing like it to be found in any of the churches in Syria, explored so exhaustively by the Count himself. No ornamentation of the same class interspersed with the vine is to be found in the Count's works, nor in any other I am acquainted with, except those quoted in the text, or similar buildings, and none of these are Christian, or found connected with any church. No traces of the vine or of the queer conventional patterns of the Huldah Gateway are found in the Golden Gateway. Their style, indeed, is as different as that of any two buildings used for the same purpose can well be. I can understand, however, that Constantine's architects, when asked to design a quasi-secular building for the Haram enclosure, may have taken a few constructive hints from the very beautiful example of the same class that already existed there, and that this may have given rise to more similarity of form than would be found in examples situated farther apart. I am also free to admit that Julian's attempt to rebuild the Temple may have introduced features into the Huldah Gateway which belong to the fourth century, consequently to the same age as the Golden Gateway; but, with all this, I see no reason for doubting that the chronology of styles introduced into the body of this work is the only true one, and the only one that lends us a thread to guide us through the labyrinth of styles found in the various buildings still existing in the Haram area.

There is still another point of view from which the matter may be regarded before leaving it. There is no point on which all the historians of the period, both Mahomedan and Christian, are so thoroughly agreed as that when the patriarch Sophronius granted the site of Solomon's Temple to Omar, that he might build a mosque upon it (*ante*, page 187), that it had been up to that time considered accursed by the Christians. They had heaped dung on the Sakhra, whatever or wherever that was, and had left the place desolate in fulfilment of the prophecy. Is it probable—is it possible, indeed—that under these circumstances it really was occupied by the church of Justinian, and the establishments described by Procopius as appertaining thereto?

A stronger point than even this is, however, established by the terms of the treaty by which the site of Solomon's Temple was ceded to Omar. By it, it was expressly stipulated that it was granted for the purpose of erecting one place of prayer, and which was to be the

only one, for his co-religionists in Jerusalem. This took place in 638 A.D.; yet we are now asked to believe that, within fifty years from that time, when many inhabitants of Jerusalem who were present at the capitulation might still be living, the Arabs had not only violated the conditions of the treaty, but seized upon and desecrated one of the four principal churches of the place, and appropriated it to their own purposes, and all this without one whisper of complaint on the part of the Christians. If this were so, the Christians of Jerusalem were a much milder and more pacific race than those of Damascus and elsewhere, who called out lustily when the Saracens attempted to appropriate their sacred edifices. In Jerusalem, however, it was not till three centuries after the conclusion of the treaty that we have a hint of any attempted infraction of it, either by building a second mosque or by appropriating any building belonging to the Christians.

More than even this, however. The French bishop Arculfus was in Jerusalem between 688 and 695 A.D., while the building of the Aksa was in progress, and describes in unmistakable terms "the square house of prayer which the Saracens were erecting on some ancient ruins" of the Temple (*ante*, page 192), but not one word about the church of Justinian either in the way of description or complaint.

More, again, than even this. We know that, when the monk Bernhard visited Jerusalem in A.D. 870, the church of Justinian, with its monastery, its xenodochia, and hospital, was still in all its glory. If it is contended this was not the building intended, because he ascribes its foundation to Charlemagne, instead of to Justinian, we have the distinct and positive testimony of the statistical account of the churches of Jerusalem, that in 808 A.D. the "new church built by Justinian" was still in existence, and had twenty-five priests and servitors attached to it (*ante*, page 254).

In addition to these facts, drawn from the history of the building, which seem conclusive against the identity of the two buildings, there are others derived from the architecture of the mosque which seem equally so. After quoting the description of the building by El Hamawi and other Mahomedan historians, the Count adds:—"Tout me porte à croire que la mosquée d'Abd-el-Malik avait la forme de toutes les mosquées primitives; c'est à dire, la forme d'une cour entourée des portiques, d'une largeur variable. Telles sont les plus anciennes mosquées du Caire, de la Mecque, de Damas, de Bostra" (page 77). All which may be very true, and I am not prepared to dispute it; but what then becomes of the basilica-formed church of Justinian, which certainly was not a court? Besides, this theory leaves the fact entirely unexplained how the court of Abd-el-Malek took the basilican form it now possesses; which is the architectural fact, if I understand him rightly, on which the Count principally relies for the identity of the two.

I do not think any argument pro or cŏn can be drawn from the two capitals of pillars engraved by the Count de Vogüé (plate 32). Both may be frankly admitted to be of the age of Justinian. That on the left, with the basket capital, most undoubtedly belongs to him; but when it was introduced into the Aksa is quite another question. Its counterpart is found in the chapel of the Armenians, in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, in the town, and both were probably taken from some ruined building of Justinian, it may be about the same time, and, if so, that in the Sepulchre was certainly introduced there after the Crusades.

I have not the dimensions of these two pillars with sufficient correctness to prove it directly, but I cannot help fancying that they are the identical pillars mentioned by Procopius as set up in front of the north door of the Mary Church. But whether this is so or not, they certainly were not removed from Justinian's church to the places they now occupy till after its ruin, and that certainly was not till after the visit of the monk Bernhard,

in the latter half of the ninth century, and they, at least, cannot have belonged to the original hypæthral court of the mosque of Abd-el-Malek.

It would be easy to continue these remarks to any required extent, but it is hardly necessary to do so here. The above are probably sufficient to explain why we differ so radically regarding the age and uses of the various buildings in the Haram area. On a former occasion the Count de Vogüé dismissed my views with a contemptuous "Quoique par l'excentricité des conjectures, et le ton de la discussion, cette théorie (de M. Fergusson) soit de celles qu'on ne refute pas."[1] I am unwilling he should be in a position to accuse me of a similar discourtesy; I have, consequently, examined his theories with care, and have stated with sufficient fulness, but firmly and respectfully, my reasons for considering that his views do not correctly represent the facts of the case, and for rejecting the conclusions he draws from them as erroneous, and as confusing, instead of explaining, the true history of the buildings in the Haram ash Sharif.

[1] Les Églises de la Terre Sainte, p. 119.

NOTE.

Since the sheets of this work were printed off, I have been induced, from reading Dr. Schliemann's 'Mycenæ' (pp. 43 *et seqq.*), to examine with more care than I had hitherto done the question how the front of the Treasury of Atreus in that city had been ornamented. The result has been a conviction on my mind that such a *placage* of marble as that represented in elevation in plate v. vol. v. of Stuart's 'Antiquities of Athens' is quite inadmissible, and would hardly have ever been accepted, if a section had been published with it. The decoration above the lintel of the doorway was undoubtedly of bronze, like that of the interior, and the holes still exist into which the pins were inserted which retained it in its position. At the same time, it seems certain that it was not a solid screen of bronze; for the triangular opening over the doorway, though primarily designed to discharge, to some extent, the weight of the superstructure from the lintel, is so arranged as to make it evident that it was intended, also, to be a window, to admit light into the interior. The triangular part must consequently have been an open trellis—the Bible would call it—of "network." How far the rest was open, how far solid, remains to be determined when there is leisure to work out the design. Meanwhile, what I want to point out is that the two elaborately ornamented semicolumns standing as mere ornaments on each side of the doorway of this Treasury, and supporting a bronze epithema 20 by 12 feet, and partially, at least, of open network, approaches more nearly to my idea of the Jachin and Boaz screen of Solomon's Temple than anything else in antiquity I know of. There certainly was a discharging arch over the lintel of the doorway of Herod's Temple, and my impression always has been that a similar opening existed in Solomon's, but whether semicircular or triangular remains to be determined. It appears to me nearly certain that the Jachin and Boaz screen was practically an ornamental *grille* or *jalousie* before that opening.

More of this hereafter; but meanwhile the conviction is fast growing upon me, that the materials may actually exist, which will one day enable us to substitute for the rough diagram, woodcut No. 34, something very much more like the Toran of Solomon's Temple.

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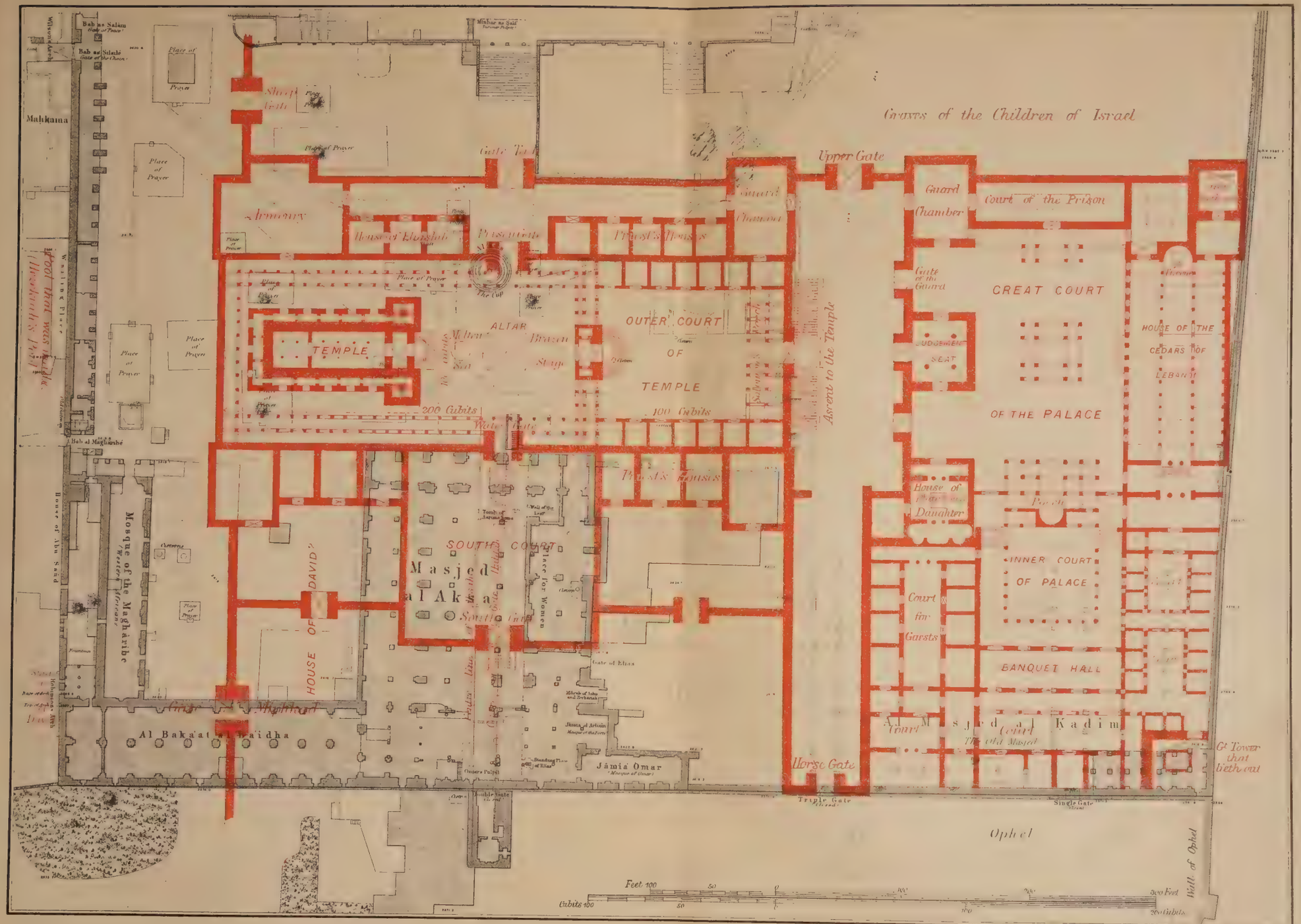
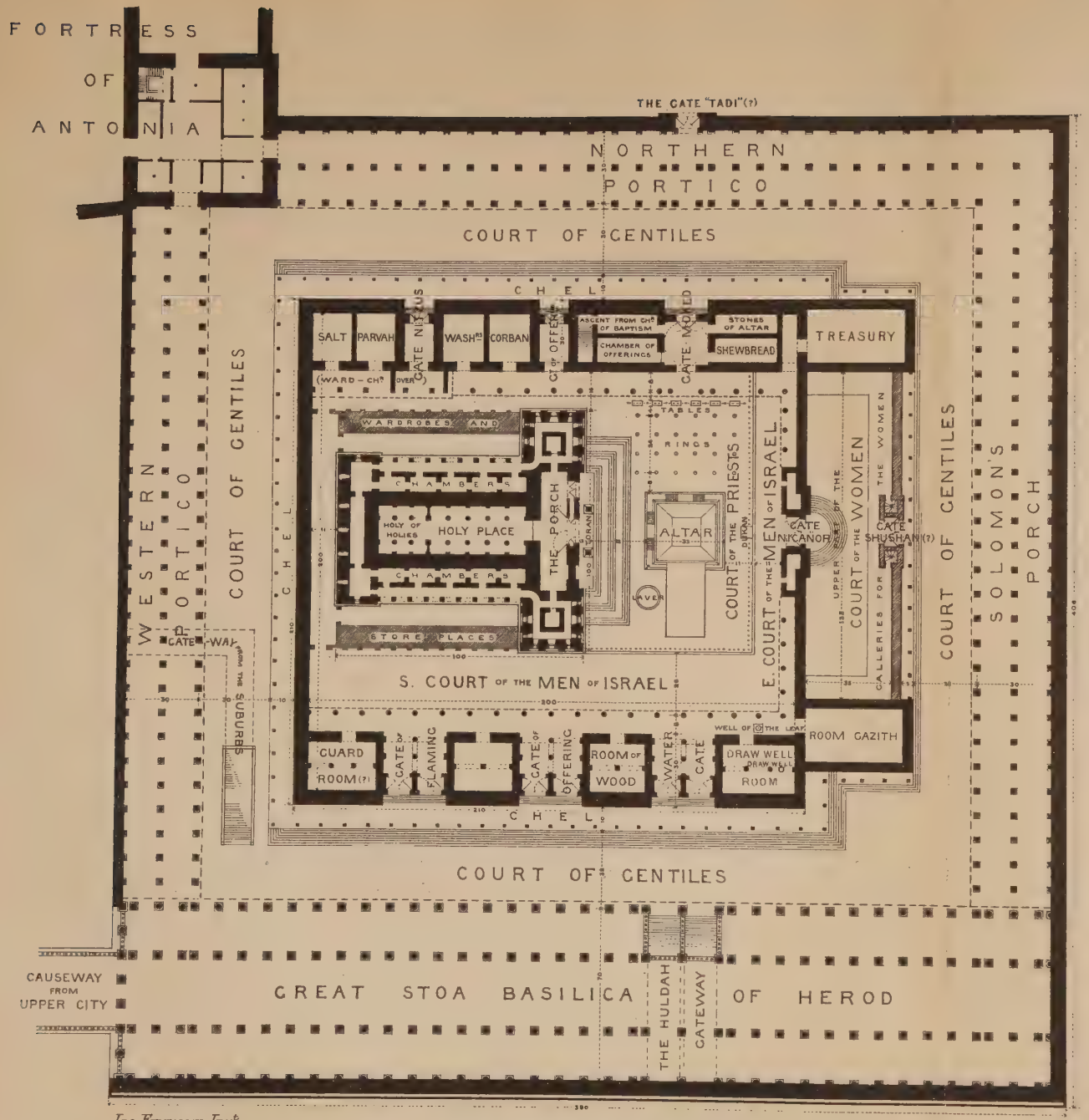
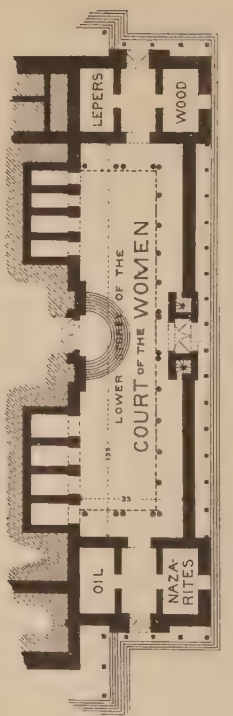


SOLOMON'S BUILDINGS IN THE HARAM AREA. Printed over the Ordnance Survey





GROUND PLAN
SHEWING LOWER PART
OF THE
COURT OF THE WOMEN

NOTE. The figured dimensions are given in Cubits.

HEROD'S TEMPLE : GROUND PLAN

John Murray, Albemarle Street.

SCALE

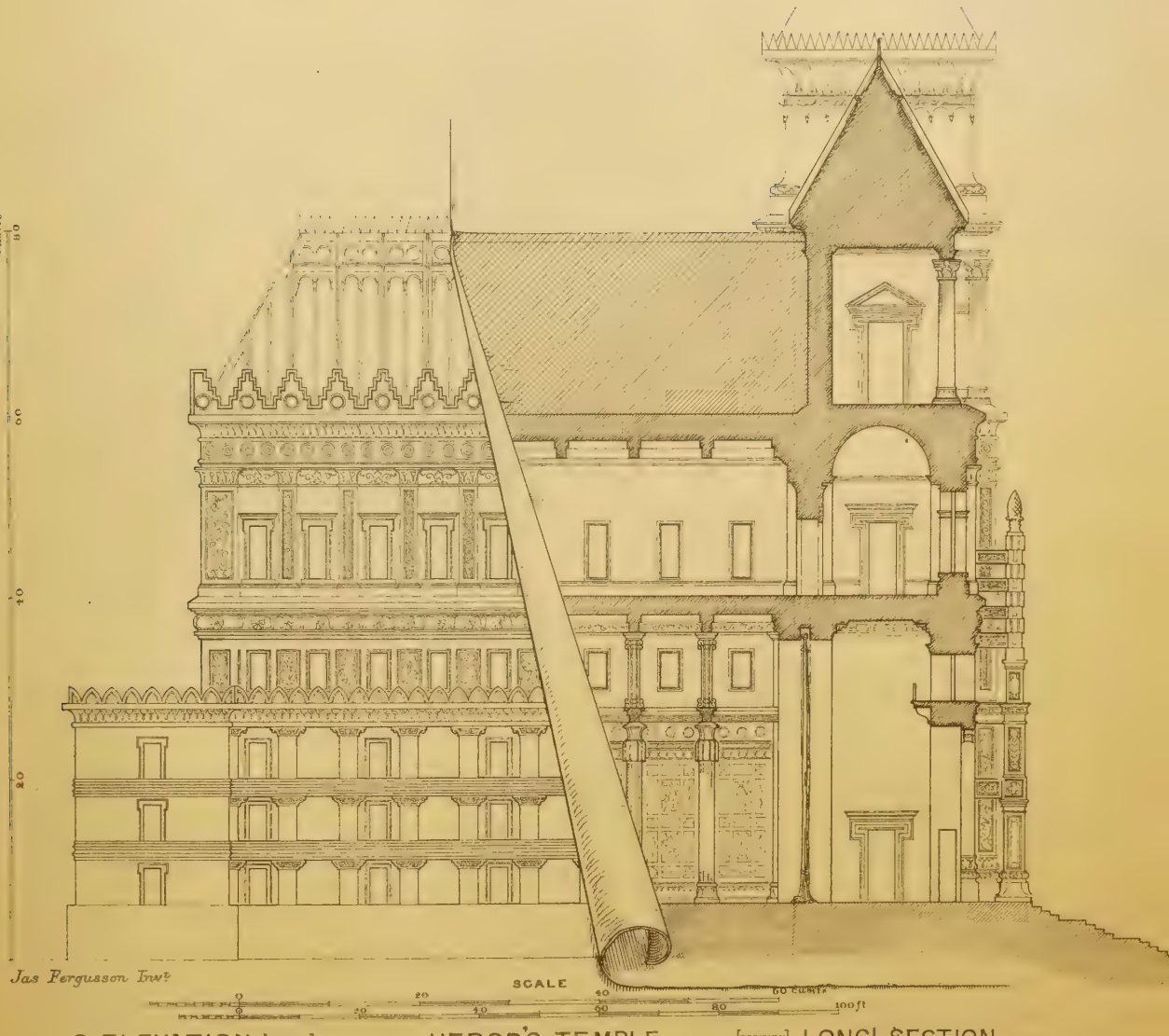
0 20 40 60 cubits

0 40 80 100 ft.

HEROD'S TEMPLE : EAST ELEVATION

Jas Fergusson Invt

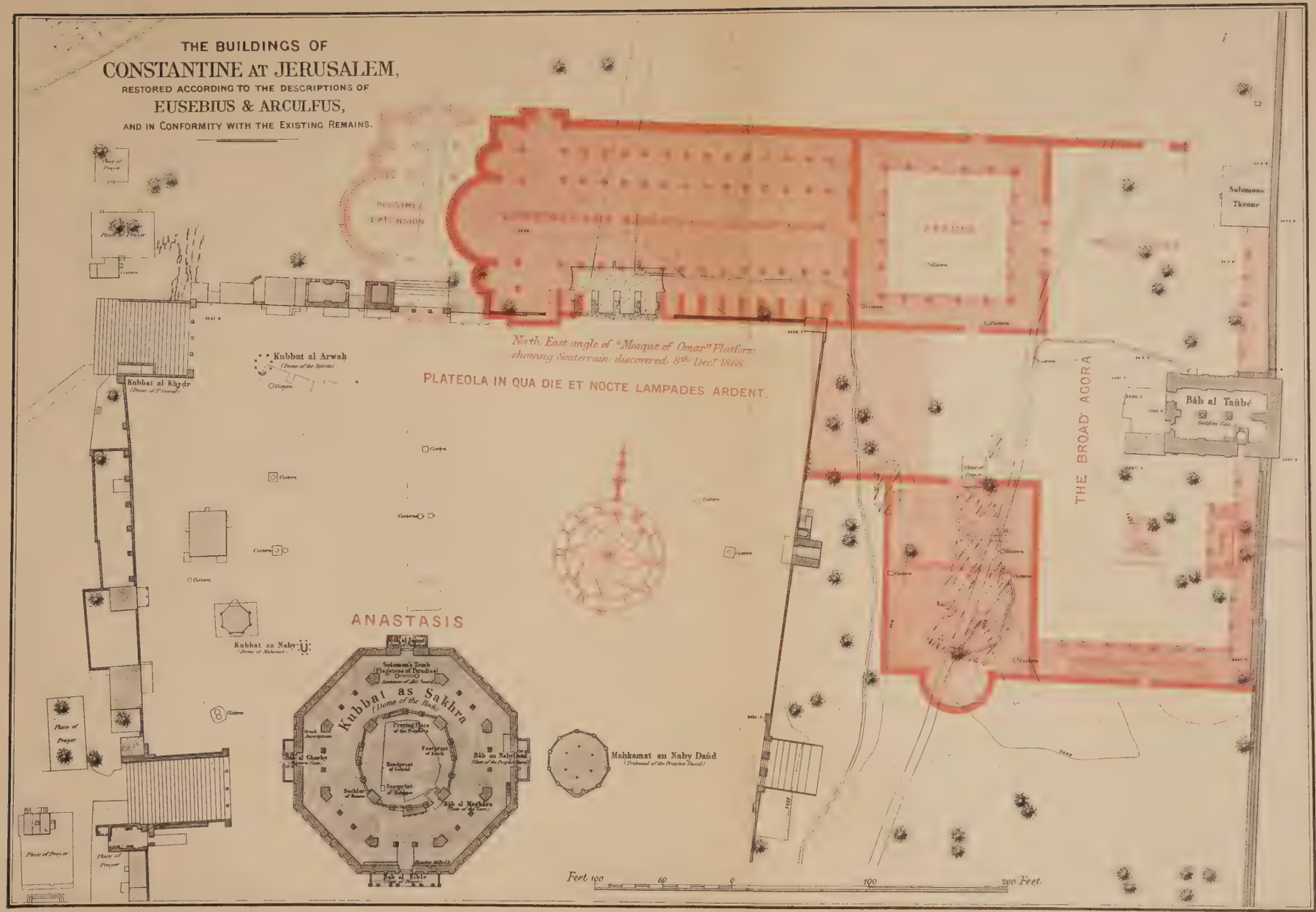
John Murray, Albemarle St

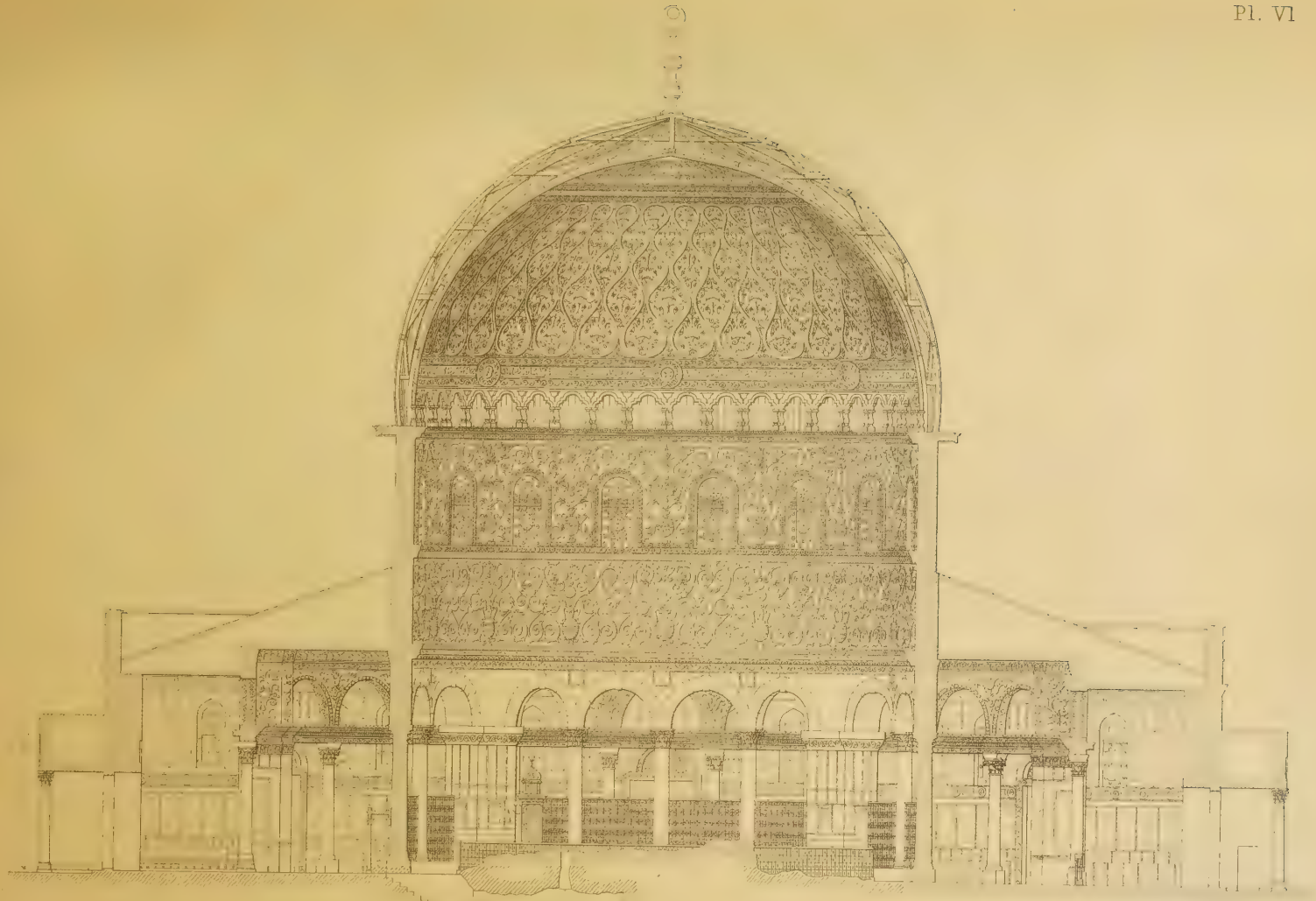


S. ELEVATION [PORTION] HEROD'S TEMPLE [PORTION] LONGL SECTION

John Murray, Albemarle Street.

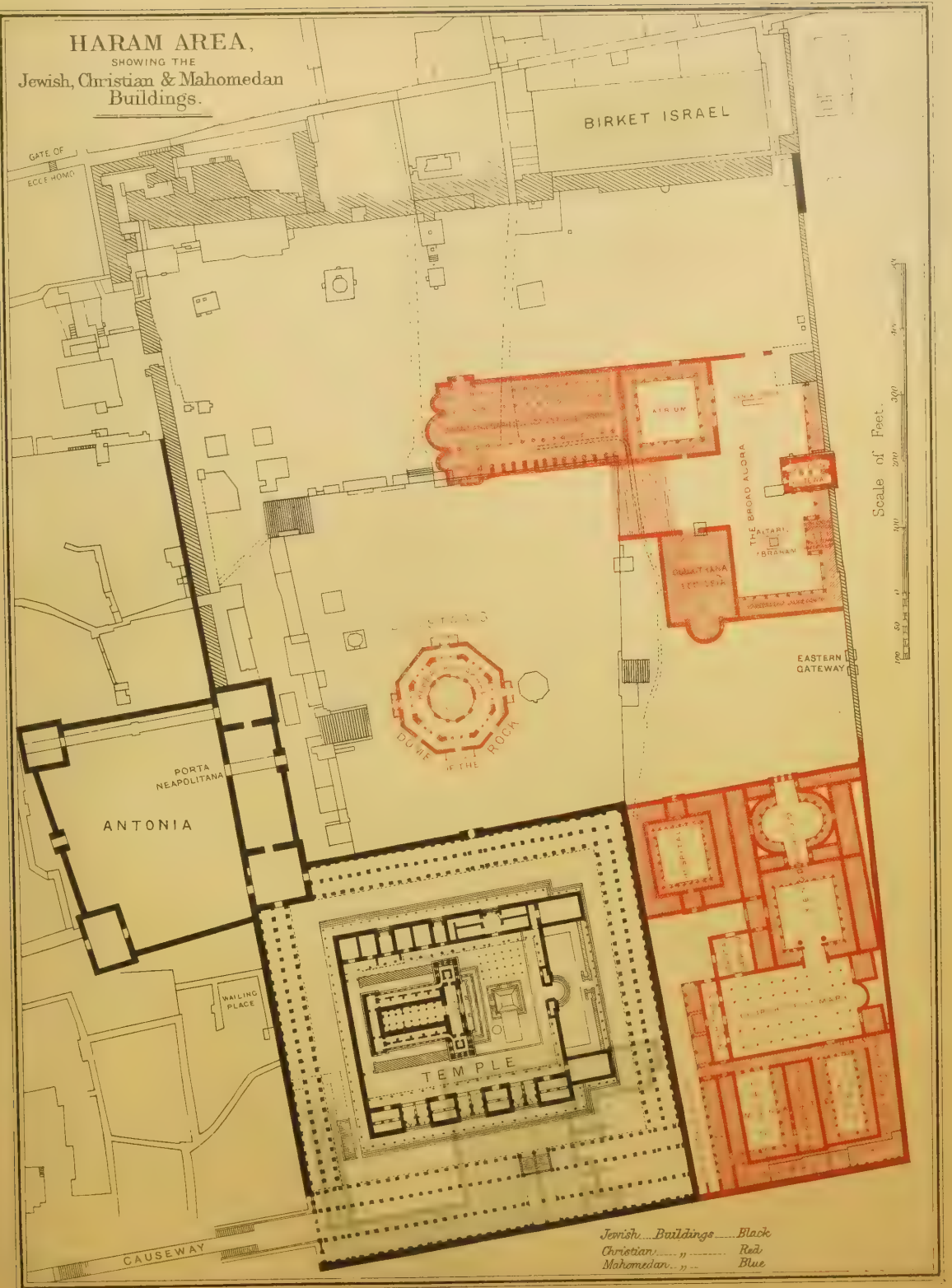
Plate V.


THE BUILDINGS OF
CONSTANTINE AT JERUSALEM,
RESTORED ACCORDING TO THE DESCRIPTIONS OF
EUSEBIUS & ARCULFUS,
AND IN CONFORMITY WITH THE EXISTING REMAINS.
North East angle of "Mosque of Omar" Platform
showing Souterrain discovered 8th Decr 1868.
PLATEOLA IN QUA DIE ET NOCTE LAMPADES ARDENT.
THE BROAD AGORA
Solomons Throne
Bâb al Taûbé
Kubbat al Arwah
Kubbat al Khydr
Kubbat an Naby
ANASTASIS
Kubbat as Sakhra
Mahkamat an Naby Daûd
Feet 100 50 0 100 200 Feet



commonly called THE MOSQUE OF OMA

John Murray, Albemarle St. W.

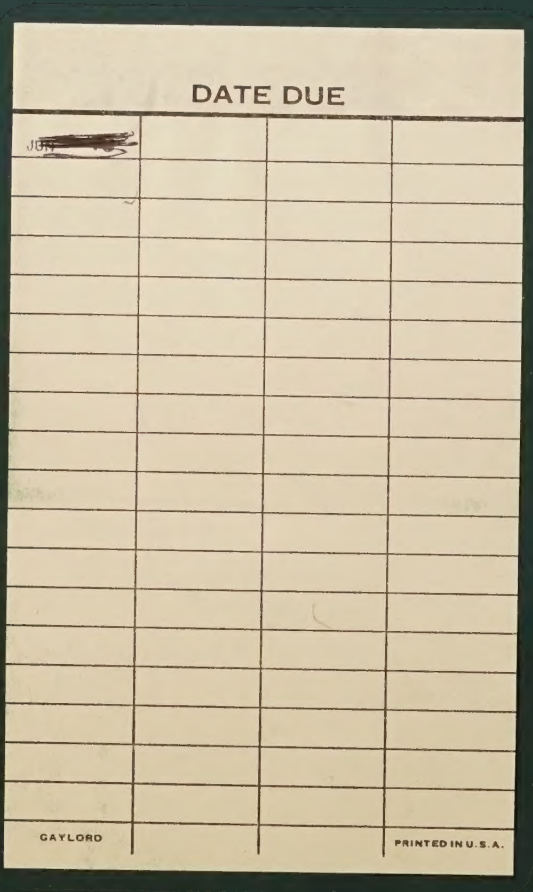

HARAM AREA,
SHOWING THE
Jewish, Christian & Mahomedan
Buildings.
BIRKET ISRAEL
GATE OF
ECCE HOMO
ATRIUM
THE BROAD AGORA
THE ALTAR
OF BRONZE
EASTERN
GATEWAY
DOME OF THE ROCK
PORTA
NEAPOLITANA
ANTONIA
WAILING
PLACE
TEMPLE
CAUSEWAY
Scale of Feet.
Jewish.....Buildings.....Black
Christian..... " ..... Red
Mahomedan... " ... Blue

PLAN OF SOUTHERN PART OF HARAM AREA.

REDUCTION OF THE ORDNANCE SURVEY SHOWING CISTERNS AND VAULTS.

SAME SCALE AS PLATE II.

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE ST.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Fergusson, James Esqr.
Temples of the Jews

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